

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS
Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia
6

ΑΕΙΜΩΝ

Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén
on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday

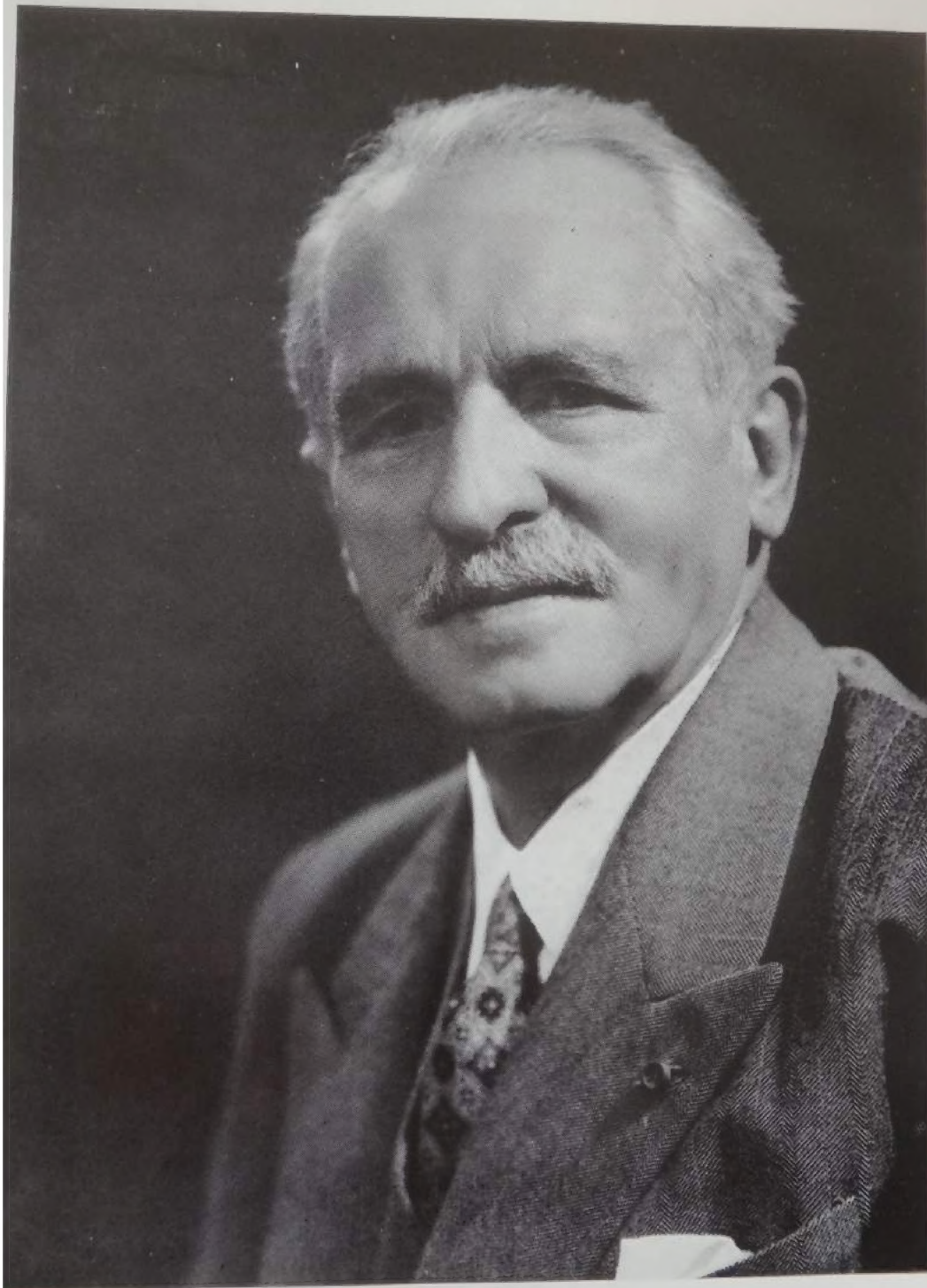
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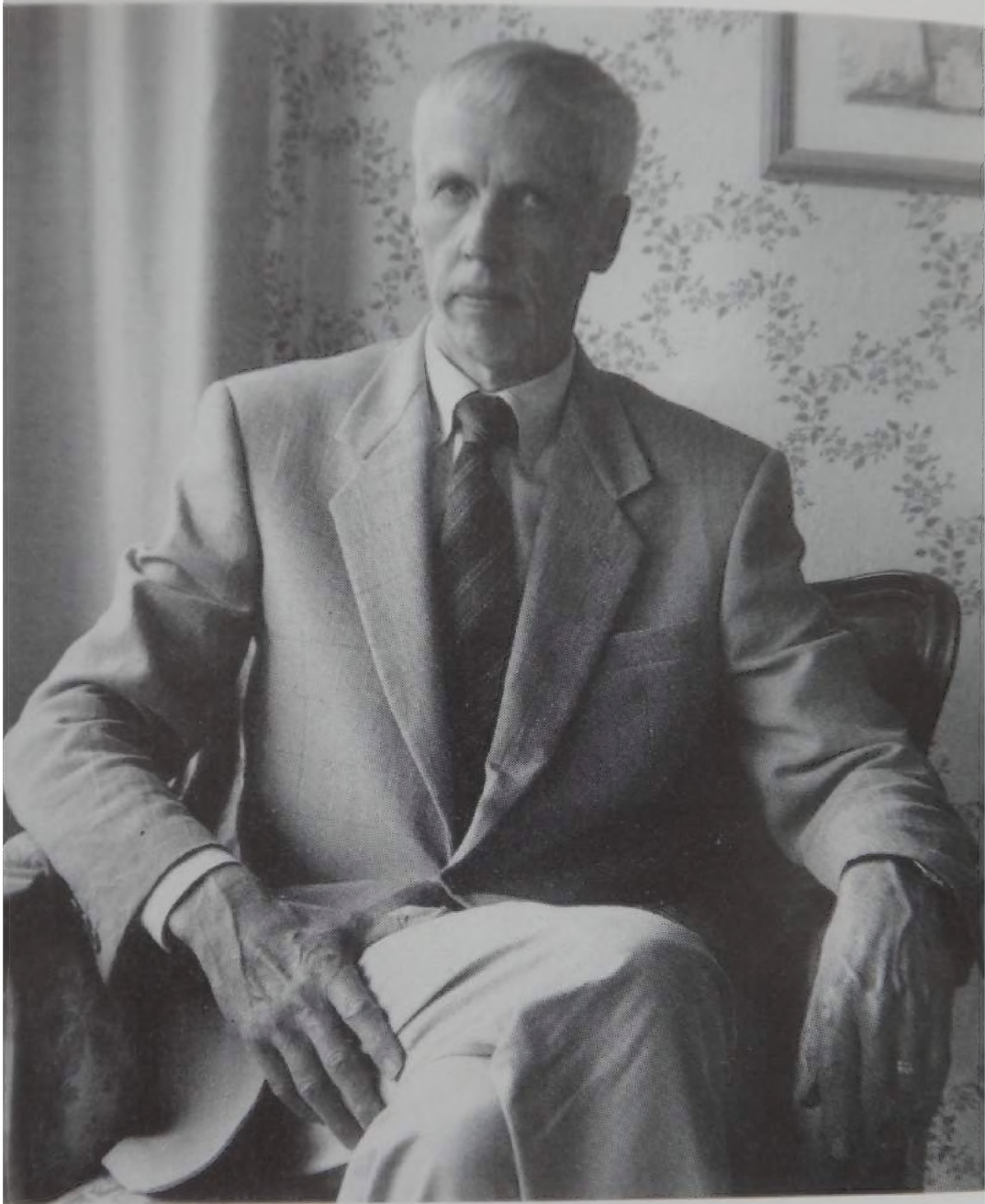
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HENRI GRÉGOIRE
(1881-1964)

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LENNART RYDÉN

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------|---|
| AASS | <i>Acta Sanctorum</i> |
| ACO | <i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , 4 vols. (Berlin - Leipzig, 1922-1974) |
| AnBoll | <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> |
| BHG | <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , 3 ^e éd. par F. Halkin (Brussels, 1957) |
| BHL | <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i> (Brussels, 1901) |
| BHO | <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis</i> (Brussels, 1910) |
| Byz | <i>Byzantion</i> |
| ByzSlav | <i>Byzantinoslavica</i> |
| BZ | <i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> |
| CPG | <i>Clavis patrum graecorum</i> , ed. M. Geerard, 5 vols. (Turnhout, 1974-1983) |
| CSCO | <i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> |
| DOP | <i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> |
| EEBS | Ἑπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν |
| EO | <i>Échos d'Orient</i> |
| GCS | Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte |
| GRBS | <i>Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies</i> |
| IRAIK | <i>Izvestija Russkogo Archeologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole</i> |
| JTS | <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> |
| NE | Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων |
| OCP | <i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i> |
| ODB | <i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A. Kazhdan <i>et al.</i> , 3 vols. (New York, 1991) |
| OrChr | <i>Oriens Christianus</i> |
| OrSuec | <i>Orientalia Suecana</i> |
| PG | <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca</i> |
| PL | <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> |
| PO | <i>Patrologia orientalis</i> |
| REB | <i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i> |
| ROC | <i>Revue de l'Orient chrétien</i> |
| RSBN | <i>Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici</i> |
| TM | <i>Travaux et Mémoires</i> |
| VizVrem | <i>Vizantijskij Vremennik</i> |
| ZDMG | <i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> |
| ZRVI | <i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i> |

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82. *The Life of St Andrew the Fool*. Vol. I: *Introduction, Testimonies and Nachleben. Indices*; Vol. II: *Text, Translation and Notes. Appendices* [Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 4:1–2] (Uppsala, 1995), 304 and 437 pp.
83. "Filaretos den Barmhärtiges vita: ett editionsprojekt i tre delar. I. Den ursprungliga versionen", *Bysantinska sällskapet. Bulletin* 13 (1995), pp. 18–22.
84. "Konsten och tiden", *Εἶδος*, utg. av Konstvetenskapliga institutionen, Stockholms universitet, 10/1995, pp. 1–4.
85. Review of S. Linnér, *Bysantinsk kulturhistoria* (Stockholm, 1994), in *Uppsala Nya Tidning*, 19 January, 1995.

DIE BEDEUTUNG DER BYZANTINISCHEN HAGIOGRAPHIE FÜR DIE GRIECHISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE

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In Variation des gängigen Sprichworts "Eulen nach Athen tragen" könnte es heißen "Heilige nach Uppsala tragen", wenn man die Leistung des Jubilars für die byzantinische Hagiographie hervorheben wollte. Daß er sich neben historisch-literarischen Aspekten vor allem um die philologische Grundlegung dieses selbst heute noch nicht selten unphilologisch behandelten Gebiets erfolgreich bemüht hat, steht ebenfalls außer Frage. Und daß er im besonderen auch der Lexikographie seine Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet hat, gab den Anstoß für die folgenden Ausführungen.

Die nachklassische, d.h. patristisch-mittelgriechische Lexikographie der Neuzeit setzt ein mit den Werken von J. Meursius (Jan de Meurs)¹ bzw. J. C. Suicer (Schweitzer)². Von praktischer Bedeutung ist heutzutage jedoch nur noch das allgemein bekannte Lexikon von Du Cange³, in dem die Hagiographie in nicht geringem Maße mitberücksichtigt wurde, wie aus dem Werkverzeichnis der separat aufgeführten anonymen "Vitae et martyria"⁴ klar hervorgeht, wobei in diesem Fall bemerkenswerterweise die Gruppe der unedierten Werke diejenige der edierten an Zahl übertrifft.

Nachdem in der Folgezeit die vereinzelt einsetzenden, noch recht unvollkommenen Versuche von Worterklärungen und knappen Registern mancher Ausdrücke in den bis gegen Ende des vergangenen Jahrhunderts eher schlecht als recht edierten griechischen Hagiographica in den *Acta Sanctorum*⁵ nur unzureichend Eingang in die dritte Auflage des Thesau-

¹ *Glossarium graeco-barbarum* (Leiden, 1614).

² *Thesaurus ecclesiasticus e patribus graecis*, 2 Bde (Utrecht, ¹1682, ²1728, ³1746).

³ Ch. Dufresne Sieur Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, 2 Bde (Lyon, 1688).

⁴ *Index auctorum* 39-42 (z.B. Andreas Salos) bzw. 65-68 (hauptsächlich *Acta Sanctorum*).

⁵ *Acta Sanctorum*, *Januarius I - Novembris IV* (Antwerpen-Brüssel, 1643-1925).

rus graecae linguae gefunden hatten, war es nach Du Cange erst A. Tougard⁶, der die große Bedeutung dieser Texte für die Lexikographie erahnte. Wenn er freilich Umfang (ca. 5000 Seiten) und Ausbeute (ca. 1600 Lemmata unter Einschluß von Eigennamen) seiner Arbeit hervorhebt, so kann dies — ungerechterweise — heutzutage kaum beeindruckend sein. Dabei geht es weniger um die nicht seltenen, auf den schlechten Ausgaben beruhenden Irrtümer, eher vielleicht um die leider (wie im Thesaurus) normalerweise ignorierten Wörter lateinischen Ursprungs, vor allem aber um die ungeheure Masse des selbst heute noch unvollkommen bekanntgemachten hagiographischen Materials. Außerdem hat ja Tougard nicht einmal alle bis zu seiner Zeit erschienenen Bände der *Acta Sanctorum* durchgearbeitet, sondern mit dem sechsten Oktoberband von 1793 aufgehört. Unter Berücksichtigung der weiteren Bände sowie der sonstigen Neueditionen, andererseits aber auch unter Weglassung des bei Lampe gebotenen Materials ergibt sich somit heute für den Anfang des Alphabets ein wesentlich anderes Bild als bei Tougard (S. 101–4), wie folgende Lemmata aus dem Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität⁷ zeigen (dabei werden bewußt alle Stellen, nicht nur die aus den *Acta Sanctorum* bzw. aus denen diese ersetzenden Neuausgaben mitangeführt):

ἀβυσσοτόκος *das Meer hervorbringend*: πέδον Prodrom 1123B. id. KanAthan 2 tit. γῆ ProdCom 119,13. πηγαί Neoph 101. Miller: cod. Marc. XI 22,158^r (Greg. Ant.). — L, Toug.

ἀγαθοπραγία, ἡ *Vollbringen guter Werke, Wohltätigkeit*: VBasVil 66,32. EustOp 11,55. HungProim VI 18. VNaum 268. — Kr.

ἀγγελοθέατος *wie ein Engel anzusehen*: ἀνὴρ AASS Nov II 1, 343A. ἡ σὴ χάρις HagNik I 310.

ἀγγελτήριον, τό *Nachricht*: θυμῆρη -α VJoseph 960B (= ἀγγελιτήριον AASS April I, XXXII cap. 22). — Stam, -ος KumN.

ἀγγελώνυμος *den Namen eines Engels tragend*: TomadRom II ρλ'. AASS Mai V 257C; Nov II 1, 347C. DelStyl 208,12. SynaxCpl 703,4. Λεσβιακὸν ἐορτολόγιον I (Athen 1959) 37,20 (s. X; cf. AnBoll 77 [1959] 464).

ἀγιοδόχος *einen Heiligen aufnehmend*: θήκη MirDem 89,6. τάφος PhotBib 477b15. id. JoanMnem 238. id. EkkIAl 4 (1884) 378 (s. X). id. Sym III 896B.

⁶ *Quid ad profanos mores dignoscendos augendaque lexica conferant Acta Sanctorum Graeca Bollandiana* (Paris, 1874).

⁷ erstellt von E. Trapp u.a., I. Faszikel (Wien, 1994); dazu ein Abkürzungsverzeichnis, in dem alle im Folgenden vorkommenden Abkürzungen nachzuschlagen sind.

- ἀγιοκατηγορία, ἡ Anklage der Heiligen: AASS Nov II 1, 422A.
 ἀγιοκτόνος Heilige tödend: AASS Oct VIII 141B (Pass. Andr. in Crisi).
 EustOp 172,71.
 ἀγιομάχος Heiliges bekämpfend: AASS Nov II 1, 357A.
 ἀγιοπολίτης, ὁ Einwohner der heiligen Stadt (= Jerusalem): CosmGreg
 347 tit. VStephSab 548F annot. ThStudEp 547 tit. MR I 425; III 449.
 EpiphHag 66,1. VCosm tit.
 ἀγιότευκτος heilig geschaffen: ἀγιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ NPaph 153D. ναὸς
 κυρίου MR I 80. σκήνος τοῦ πνεύματος AASS Mai II 770E (Translat.
 Greg. Naz. c. 18).
 ἀγνώτης, ὁ Unbekannter: AASS Nov II 1, 409C; Nov IV 643E. Ignorant:
 AASS Nov III 888D. — L.
 ἀγριοφοινίκινος von einer wilden Dattelpalme: ξύλον ἐλαφρόν -νίκινον
 AASS Oct X 748F (Passio Arethae, v.l. -κιον). — Vgl. -ίκι HL.
 ἀγιοφύλακτος von einem Heiligen beschützt: πόλις MirDem 186,14.
 ἀγογγυστί ohne zu murren: MirDem 81,9. — KumN.
 ἀγριόβλαστος wild gewachsen: βοτάναι MirDem 148,18. — Vgl.
 -βλάσταρο Stam. -βλαστάρι HL.
 ἀγροικίας, ὁ Bauerntölpel: GregNaz PG 35, 1109B. AASS Mai V 378F
 (Niceph. V. Sym. Styl. Jun.). MatEp 42,19.
 ἄδασος unbewaldet: AASS Nov II 1, 413A.
 ἀδιάληστος unvergeßlich: τὴν τε ὥραν καὶ ἡμέραν -στον τίθει AASS
 Nov III 870B.
 ἀδιυπνίστως ohne aufzuwachen: AASS Nov IV 81D. — Tgl.
 ἄδυσώδης nicht stinkend: VMarthae 30,4.

Zeitlich parallel wie auch nach Tougard wirkte E. Miller, von dessen (teilweise unkritischem) Interesse am gesamten griechischen Wortschatz, das sich, angefangen von alten Inschriften bis hin zu vulgärsprachlichen Texten erstreckte, seine unveröffentlichten Sammlungen deutliches Zeugnis ablegen*. Gedacht als Supplement zur Pariser Ausgabe des Thesaurus, enthalten sie so manche Notizen aus Hagiographica, nicht selten aus Handschriften, ähnlich wie Du Cange. Dabei können zwar heute viele

* Vgl. Ch. Astruc & M.-L. Concasty, *Bibliothèque nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits grecs* III (Paris, 1960), Nrr. 1203-11 (Handexemplar des Thesaurus mit Randnotizen, die auch heute noch viel Wichtiges bieten), Nrr. 1212-3 (Handexemplar des Ducange mit Randnotizen, heute unbedeutend), Nrr. 1214-18 (Sammlung von etwa 43.000 Zetteln, offensichtlich Rohmaterial, heute zur Kontrolle und Ergänzung von Nrr. 1203-11 von gewissem Wert).

Zitate in seither erfolgten Editionen verifiziert werden, manches ist aber auch weiterhin noch nicht im Druck zugänglich, wie z.B. folgende Lemmata (ebenfalls unter Anführung sonstiger Stellen) zeigen können:

ἄγγελος ἰκέλος *engelgleich*: ThStudCatM 90 (p. 56 MCL). IgnDiacEp 62. Miller: πρόσωπον cod. Coisl. 110,202^r (V. Abram. et Mariae). ἀδιεκφοιτήτως Miller: cod. Par. 755 σξζ^v (N. Paph. in Dion. Ar., BHG 556b).

ἀειφανέω *immer scheinen*: Miller: cod. Par. 1193,62^r (Th. Lasc. in Cosm. et Dam.).

ἄξωδοχέω ? Miller: cod. Par. 1190,200^r (ms. a. 1568, Vita Jo. Bapt., BHG 838).

αἰνικτός *rätselhaft*: Miller: cod. Coisl. 146,224^v (Mich. Sync., In Mich. et Gab.). — LS.

αἰτιοαίτιος Miller: cod. Laur. IX 24,294^r (cf. αἰτιατοαίτιος); cod. Par. 215,93 (Io. Geometr. V. et dormit. Mariae).

ἀνακαινιστικός *erneuernd*: ἀετός CosVestZa 254 cap. 2. βάπτισμα JoOxChar 101,151. ἀφθαρσία GregOx 222,9. Miller: cod. Par. 1447,287^v (s. XI, martyr. Procopii). — KumN, Stam.

ἀντικατηγόρημα, τό Miller: cod. Par. 215,214 (s. XIII, Io. Geometr. V. et dormit. Mariae).

Sieht man ferner von dem nicht sehr viele neue Wörter bebringenden Werk von Euangelos [Apostolides] Sophocles⁹ ab, so mehren sich etwa seit der Jahrhundertwende die Anzeichen für das lexikalische Interesse an einzelnen hagiographischen Texten, das seinen Niederschlag zunächst in Indices oder Glossaren zu einzelnen Ausgaben besonders in Rußland und Deutschland fand, wovon eine freilich unvollständige Liste Zeugnis ablegt¹⁰. Auch in die 97 mit θεός zusammengesetzten Komposita hat E. Pezopulos¹¹ (seine gesamte, nichtveröffentlichte und offenbar nicht erhaltene Sammlung umfaßte ca. 10.000 Athesaurista) einige aus hagiographischen Texten aufgenommen, die sich zum Teil mit der Wortliste von Tougard decken: θεοβαδής, θεοκάτοικος, θεοπαίδευτος, θεοπτώς, θεοπύργωτος, θεόρρυστος, θεόσκηπτρον, θεοχαριέστατος, θεοχορήγητος. Wie aber die teilweise unterschiedliche Zitierweise, vor allem aber das in keiner anderen alten Sammlung vorkommende Lemma θεολαμψία

⁹ *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Cambridge, 1887).

¹⁰ H. & B. Riesenfeld, *Repertorium Lexicographicum Graecum* (Stockholm, 1954), 9-11.

¹¹ "Αθησαύρισμα λέξεις", Βεζαντις 2 (1911), 127-136.

zeigen, dürfte Pezopulos (ebenso wie St. Kumanudes¹²) Tougards vermutlich wenig verbreitete Arbeit unbekannt geblieben sein.

Jedenfalls dauerte es noch geraume Zeit bis zum Erscheinen eines umfassenden Nachschlagewerks, dem *Patristic Lexicon*¹³, zu dem der Hagiograph seither seine Zuflucht nimmt. Wie jedoch von verschiedener Seite, vor allem in Rezensionen¹⁴ hervorgehoben wurde, ist es gerade die Hagiographie, die in diesem Lexikon zum patristischen Schrifttum nicht selten stiefmütterlich behandelt wurde. Einige Beispiele aus Lemmata mit Zitaten aus der Vita des Theodor von Sykeon mögen dies verdeutlichen:

ἡγήσεις, ἡ *Leitung*: VThSyk 130,5. MethIcon 33,30. — LS.

θερμίζω in warmen Quellen baden: VThSyk 146,36. Theoph 186,9; 471,9. — L.

ἱαματοδότης, ὁ der Heilung gibt, Heilbringer: VThSyk 2,5.

ἰσχνόω abzehren: VThSyk 162,42 (pass.). GregAntLet II 282 (pass.). — LS.

καθαρπαγή, ἡ Raub, Besetzung: τόπον VThSyk 150,9. — LS.

πωμάτιον, τό Deckel: VThSyk 118,7.15. — LS.

ῥογίν, τό Fläschchen: ἐλαίου VThSyk 154,40 (vgl. RosStud 122). 127,57. PapVar 41,1 (ἐλαίου) 43,6 etc. (Pl. -ία). — ῥογίων L. Duc.

ῥοδοφόρος Rosen tragend: κλάδος VThSyk 25,28. — LS.

χλαιοφόρος einen Mantel tragend: VThSyk 88,10. — L.

χλωροσαῦρα, ἡ grüne Eidechse: VThSyk 124,8; 15,17. VBasVil 54,25. Hippiatr II 296,6. — LS, Tgl, Kuk 278.

χοίρεος Schweine-: κρέα VThSyk 70,7. — LS.

*χολόκοκκον, τό Rizinuskern: VThSyk 77,9 (Detor IV: λούπιον). λαθυρίδες, τὰ -α ein Wolfsmilchgewächs: BoissAn II 400. — Duc.

χριστοπαράδοτος von Christus überliefert: πίστις VThSyk 1,20.

χρυσανγέω wie Gold glänzen: HomPasc S. 336. VThSyk 32,12. PsGregAn 126. MR VI 152. LexByz 46,99 (Kyrill). — LS.

Einiges durch Veröffentlichung zugängliches Material findet man bei Th. Detorakes¹⁵, der in seinen Sammlungen den "hagiologischen", d.h. hagiographischen und homiletischen Texten besonderes Augenmerk gewidmet hat.

¹² Συναγωγή λέξεων ἑθνοσαυρίστων ἐν ταῖς ἐλληνικοῖς λεξικοῖς (Athen, 1883).

¹³ G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961-1968).

¹⁴ z.B. H.-G. Beck, *BZ* 57 (1964), 432; A. Wifstrand, *JTS* 15 (1963), 402.

¹⁵ "Ἀθροαύριστα βυζαντινά", *Ἀθηνά* 76 (1976/77), 231-242; 77 (1978/79), 211-227; 78 (1980/82), 153-163; 80 (1989), 223-239.

Aus thematischen Gründen kann hingegen der Hagiograph an das Lexikon von E. Kriaras¹⁶ keine besonderen Erwartungen knüpfen. So sind es nur ganz vereinzelte Texte¹⁷, die mehr oder weniger vollständig berücksichtigt wurden.

Nicht zu vergessen sind schließlich die beiden größten heutigen Unternehmungen auf dem Gebiet der (alt)griechischen Lexikographie, in denen den Viten der frühbyzantinischen Zeit teils ein bisher nur sehr bescheidender (im TLG auf compact-disc¹⁸), teils ein sogar etwas über Lampe hinausgehender Platz eingeräumt wird, nämlich im DGE¹⁹.

Damit sich jedoch dieser Rundblick nicht nur in mehr oder weniger bekannten Bahnen bewegt, seien am Schluß dieses Abschnitts drei Lemmata angeführt, die den erschienenen ersten Faszikel des LBG aus hagiographischem Material bereits ergänzen können:

ἀλληλοδιάδοχος *aufeinander folgend, einander ablösend*: JusCan 1160D. StilbProl 12. NChonOr 44,4; 45,26. MM II 522 (a. 1401). — KumN, Stam. Dazu: Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινου πόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου ἀγιο-λογικὰ ἔργα Α', ed. D. Tsames, Thessalonike 1985, S. 387,57.

ἀνδραφόνος ? *männermordend*: ib. 56,24 (recte ἀνδροφ.?). — LS.

ἀπέργασμα, τό *Werk*: ἐξ εὐφροῦς χειρὸς -ματα St. Efthymiadis. Le panégyrique de S. Théophane le Confesseur par S. Théodore Stoudite. AnBoll 111 (1993) 274 c. 7. Das Wort ist sonst nicht belegbar.

Es wird niemanden überraschen, daß die lexikalisch ergiebige Zeit der Hagiographie mit ihrer literarisch fruchtbaren Epoche weitgehend zusammenfällt, das heißt, daß die bis zum 10. Jhdt. verfaßten (und in diesem Zustand erhaltenen) Viten gegenüber den späteren eine viel größere und sprachgeschichtlich natürlich viel bedeutendere Ausbeute liefern. Einer der "Lieblingstexte" unseres Jubilars ist die Vita des Andreas Salos, dessen Wortschatz er eine eigene Studie gewidmet hat. Es sollen daher einige Wörter — nach der bisherigen alten Ausgabe zitiert²⁰ — aus diesem Werk vorgeführt werden:

*ἀσεβήτρια, ἡ *Ungläubige*: VAnd 851C.

¹⁶ Λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἐλληνικῆς δημόσιας γραμματείας (Thessalonike, 1969 ff.).

¹⁷ Vgl. Bd. XIII, 47–49.

¹⁸ Vgl. L. Berkowitz & A. Squitier, *Thesaurus linguae graecae, Canon of Greek Authors and Works* (New York – Oxford, 1990): S. 258 f. "Martyrium", 296 f. "Passio", 398 u. 401 "Vitae".

¹⁹ F. Adrados et al., *Diccionario griego-español*, I–IV (α–δαίμων) (Madrid, 1980–94).

²⁰ Die neue Edition (Ryden 1995) erschien erst nach Drucklegung dieses Beitrags.

- **ἀστραποῦφαντος* aus Blitzstrahlen gewebt: *χιτών* VAnd 664D.
 **ἀφοῦρα*, ἡ *Ausdünstung*: VAnd 724B. VBasVes I 23. — LexByz 226.
 **βισσήριον*, τὸ *kleine Flasche*: *βησίριον διάχρυσον* VAnd 880AB (cf. LexByz 226). — Vgl. *βησίον* LS, *βισσίον* L.
 **βόσκειος* *Hirten-*: *ράβδος* VAnd 709A.
 **γαληνομόρφως* in *ruhiger Weise*, *ruhig*: VAnd 668D. VBasVes II 14.17.32. VBasVil 48,34; 56,26. Neoph 152.
γαστριμαργίζομαι *gefräßig sein*: VAnd 768C. — Kr XI 393 -γίζω; vgl. LS, Stam -γέω.
γεγήθης *Freude*: VAnd 628C. ProdCom 12,2.
γούλα, ἡ (lat. *gula*) *Kehle*, *Schlund*: VAnd 748B. Hippiatr II 42,11. CodAstr VII 158,3. *Gefräßigkeit*: VThSyk 30,26. — L, Soph, Kr (+ IX 408), Duc, HL, TLG.
γυροβολέω *ringsherum richten*, *umherschweifen lassen*: *ὀφθαλμούς* RystMat 34,17. *herumwerfen*: AndSal 209,200 (pass.). VAnd 636C (pass.). — L, HL.
 **δαιμονολαγνεία*, ἡ *dämonische Wollust*: VAnd 765D.
δραξύς (< *δράξ* ?) *energisch?* VAnd 688B (vgl. LexByz 228,36). Anna III 88,5 *δραξυτάτου* mss.
ἐκκλησιεμπαίκτης, ὁ *Verhöhner der Kirche*: VAnd 849B.

So unbestritten in seinem Umfang der gewaltige editorische Beitrag ist, den F. Halkin geleistet hat, so darf nicht verschwiegen werden, daß nicht wenige vor allem seiner späteren Ausgaben nicht nur mit mangelhaften Indices bzw. Glossaren, sondern vor allem mit Fehlern behaftet sind, die nicht selten auch "ghostwords" betreffen. Sehen wir von einem Enkomion auf den Patriarchen Nektarios ab²¹, so seien hier folgende eher zufällig herausgegriffene Beispiele vorgestellt:

VOnuph 21 cap. 11: *πνεῦμα ἄγιον συναπάρχον* offensichtlich statt π. ἄ. *συνάναρχον*.

Manchmal tappt man einstweilen noch im Dunkeln, wie bei dem sicher falschen (verlesenen?) *μεγαλάρους* (PassAemil 226 c. 2).

In der Passage *ἐν τούτοις νικᾶν ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰς τὸ σταυρωτεῖον ἔσχηκεν*, BZ 79 (1986) 285 f., ist wohl τὸ *πρωτεῖον* zu lesen; ebendort 288 lies *σκόλοπας* statt des "Hapax" *σκόλοπαι*.

Als vermeintliches "Hapax" wird *ἐπιτυχίας* (CosVestZa 256 c. 5) bezeichnet, man vergleiche dazu jedoch Liddell-Scott.

²¹ E. Trapp, "Quelques remarques sur l'éloge du Patriarche S. Nectaire", *Βυζαντικά* 10 (1990), 59-65.

VAkatz 259 c. 4 lesen wir ἐπιταπεινωτόν anstelle von ἐπιταπεινώ-
ται (vgl. 278 c. 2. "luculentissimam"); 260 unverständliches ἀπειθήσει
wohl für ἀπεικλήσει; 266 steht ιουδαῖοι ὁ παῖδες ιερῶν τοιῶν ἡπία-
λαι ὁμοιάζουσι wohl statt ... τοῖον ἦν, (vgl. StudLex 43 f.),

AnBoll 101 (1983) 13 c. 4 θεμέλης falsch für θεμέλης.

Ganz merkwürdig sieht eine Stelle aus EuthymTheod 237 aus: δεκτί-
σλοκαύτως, θεῶν μαθεῖσθαι, λογικὸν ἱεροῖον; es müßte θύμα θεόθεν
heißen (dieselbe Junktur bei JoanMnem 305).

EuthymMar 38 c. 8 müßte ῥυτιῶ ... σώματι zu ῥυτῶ ..., σώματι ver-
bessert werden; kaum glaubhaft ist auch am Ende desselben Textes (S.
44) ἀγαθαῖς ἐναιφροσυνόμενος ἐλπίζει statt des zu erwartenden ἐναι-
φροσυνόμενος.

Der gewissermaßen umgekehrte Fall, daß eine bedeutsame Neben-
form Gefahr läuft, durch "Verbesserung" beseitigt zu werden, finden wir
z.B. bei κρουσάλλινα ("lege κρυσταλλινά") PassJul II 368 c. 24; vgl.
Stamatakis sowie andere Ableitungen mit der Lautung κρουσάλλ- bei
Kriaras.

Sehen wir von den problematischen Viten der hl. Katharina ab, so
mögen folgende zwei Beispiele für ungewöhnlich reiche lexikalische Er-
giebigkeit angeführt werden:

Die Vita des heiligen Samson²² (er war ξενόδοχος in Konstantinopel
im sechsten Jahrhundert), verfaßt ein bis zwei Jahrhunderte später, die
auf zehn Druckseiten mehrere Dutzend ganz seltene, häufig aber sonst
unbekannte Wörter liefert: διαμφορεύομαι, συναρχιστράτηγος usw.

Vielleicht noch übertroffen wird sie von drei Reden des Kosmas Ves-
titor²³ auf Zacharias, den Vater Johannes' des Täuflers, die über 70
hemerkenswerte Wörter auf zwölf Seiten liefern, davon über zehn allein
im Prolog: θεοκατείδντος, ἐπαινογραφία usw.

Daß die Metaphrasen Symeons aus dem zehnten Jahrhundert den
Wortschatz ihrer Vorlagen im allgemeinen durch Attizisierung verarmt
haben, ist bekannt. Ähnliches gilt in der Regel auch für die späteren
Hagiographica. Ausnahmen findet man am ehesten in Randgebieten der
Gräzität, etwa im italienischen Raum. Nun haben wir seit kurzem ein

²² F. Halkin, "Saint Samson le Xénodochique de Constantinople (VI^e siècle)". *RSBN* 14-
16 (1977/79), 5-17 (S. 6 Anm. 3 eine unvollständige Wörterliste).

²³ F. Halkin, "Zacharie, père de Jean Baptiste. Trois panégyriques par Cosmas Vesti-
tor", *AnBoll* 105 (1987), 251-263 (ohne jegliche Kennzeichnung neuer und seltener
Wörter).

wertvolles Nachschlagewerk für dieses Gebiet, das sich allerdings weitestgehend auf urkundliches Material beschränkt und nur ein paar Werke der Literatur gelegentlich heranzieht²⁴. Was jedoch die dort entstandene Hagiographie an sprachlich Interessantem zu bieten vermag, sei an einigen Beispielen illustriert:

ἀρισταίνετος vorzüglich: ἔργοις -αινέτοιον BartJun 129. — Ἀρισταίνετος als Name: DGE, PB.

ἀριστοτρόπως auf beste Weise: BartJun 130. Miller: cod. Par. 2075,8r (Jo. Eug., carm.).

ἀρτοποιήσις, ἡ Brothereitung: ThStudCatM 18 (p. 128). VNil 107. — KumN, Stam.

*ἀνχμήρης trocken: -ρέστατος BartJun 97. — LS, LSSup -ρός.

*ἀχροόμαι (pass.) erbleichen: VNil 52.

*βροντόκτυπος wie Donner dröhnend: φωνή BartJun 136. — Vgl. -πῶ Kr.

δειλανδρίζω furchtsam, feige sein: AASS Nov II 1, 416C (V. Ioannicii). VNil 52. — L; AndArch -μαι.

θεσποينوπάναγρος der Gottesmutter ganz heilig: BartJun 19.

δριμύς (= δριμύς) stechend: βλέμμα VNil 118.

*ἐκκελαδέω ausposaunen, preisen: τοὺς τρόπους τῶν ἁγίων BartJun 96.

ἐκατοστός hundertjährig: VNil 125.

Vereinzelte sind so auch für die unteritalienische Gräzität typische Wortformen beizubringen, wie etwa für Γρῆκος (= Γραικός) "griechisch": LucBov 226²⁵.

Zum Schluß soll wenigstens durch einige ausgewählte Beispiele auf den nicht geringen realienkundlichen Ertrag hingewiesen werden, der sich zusätzlich oder sogar nur durch den Befund des hagiographischen Wortmaterials ergibt:

Gefäß:

ἀρκιόλιον, τό Krug: οἶνον HagNik I 21,15; 22,1 = VNicol 25,10,15.

κάλπη, ἡ Krug: VStephSab 585C c. 131; 586D c. 131. — LS.

προσφοράριον, τό Gefäß, Behälter: VThSyk 156,89 (vgl. RosStud 113).

Korb: Barth 66,6,14 (-νάριον cod. falso).

²⁴ G. Caracausi, *Lessico greco della Sicilia e dell'Italia meridionale (secoli X-XIV)* (Palermo, 1990).

²⁵ Vgl. N. Tomadakes, "Βυζαντινὰ γλωσσικά καὶ φιλολογικά", *Φίλτρα. Τιμητικός τόμος* Σ. Γ. Καψωμένου (Thessalonike, 1975), 431. Andere Stellen bei Caracausi.

Getränk:

εὐκράτιον, τό *Mischgetränk*: AnHier IV 178,17. — L.

Kleidung:

ἀλλαξιμάριον, τό *Wechselkleid*: DiethRara 12 (s. VIII). (*Taschen*)*tuch*: HistPhil 109.133.143. ADoch 49,34 (a. 1384). -ιν VThSyk 159,71 (cf. RosStud 113). *Umkleidekammer, Kleiderkammer*: PsKod 172,7. — LSSup, DGE.

σθλαβινικόν, τό *Kleid slavischer Machart* (aus Ziegenhaar): MoneKot 332,39. AASS Nov III 524D.

Speise:

ἀγιοζώμιον, τό *Zwiebelsuppe* (als Mönchsspeise): VCyrPhil 40,6. TypKosm 49,34. — KukBios V 37 f., -ιν Kr.

ἐδώδημα, τό *Speise*: ἀσκητικά VIrene 100,22.

μελίπηκτον, τό eine Süßspeise (*Honigkuchen*): AnalBoll 25 (1906) 64,23. FontTrap 66,27. — Glotta 59 (1981) 117.

ῥουφίν (ῥόφιν), τό eine Speise für Mönche (aus aufgeweichtem Brot hergestellt): PapSyl 195,9; 214,32. OldStud 355. AnHier V 89,9. Barsan 534,15; 536,5.

Wagen:

ἄκτος, ὁ (lat. actus) *Wagen*: ἐπὶ ἄκτου ὑψηλοῦ, ἤγουν ἐπὶ ἄρματος AnBoll 105 (1987) 339.

βουριχάλιον, τό (< lat./mlat. burrichus) *mit Maultieren bespannter Wagen*: AnHier V 47,3. — LS (falsche Etymologie bei Johannes Lydos), L.

Werkzeug (bes. Folterwerkzeuge):

διστόμιον, ἐξονυχιστής, ἐξοφθαλμιστήρ, ἐξωμιστήρ, λαβράριον, ῥινίσκος, σιδηρόλαβον, χειράγρα.

JÉSUS PRÊTRE DU JUDAÏSME : LE DEMI-SUCCÈS D'UNE LÉGENDE

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Le lexique de la *Souda*, sans doute vers la fin du X^e siècle¹, conserve un trésor de petits textes qui circulaient dans l'Orient hellénophone, suffisamment vulgarisés pour servir de définition ou de commentaire didactique; ainsi la courte dissertation correspondant au mot «prophétie», qui figure déjà, sans qu'on puisse en déterminer exactement la provenance, dans une homélie pseudo-chrysostomienne et dans Georges le Moine². Mais à l'entrée «Jésus-Christ notre Dieu»³, on trouve un récit fort long qui intrigue et embarrasse le lecteur d'aujourd'hui comme il a intrigué et embarrassé les contemporains, et qui ne correspond guère à ce que l'on attend en regard d'un pareil nom. Il affirme, en effet, avec force détails, que Jésus fut coopté par des prêtres juifs et qu'il exerça quelque temps des fonctions liturgiques au Temple de Jérusalem.

«À noter que : Au temps où régnait le très pieux empereur Justinien, il y avait un homme à la tête des juifs⁴, du nom de Théodose, qui était connu de la plupart des chrétiens et du fidèle empereur susnommé lui-même. À cette même époque, il y avait un chrétien du nom de Philippe, argentier de son état⁵. Ce dernier encourageait

¹ Sur le nom de l'œuvre, sa date et la bibliographie la concernant, voir H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, II (Munich, 1978), 40-41.

² *Souda*, s.v. προφητεία, éd. A. Adler, *Soudae Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1928-1938). IV, 242-243; Ps.-Chrysostome, PG 64, 740-744; Georges le Moine, éd. de Boor, 237-239.

³ *Souda*, s.v. Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν, éd. Adler, II, 620-625. Le texte représente la totalité de la notice. Il est introduit, comme souvent les textes empruntés, par un simple (ιστέον) ὅτι.

⁴ Entendons qu'il est le représentant de la communauté juive de Constantinople (ἀρχηγός et ἀρχισυνάγωγος τῶν Ἰουδαίων), fonction attestée sous Justinien.

⁵ Ἀργυροπράτης/argentarius peut désigner à l'époque de Justinien aussi bien un orfèvre qu'un manieur d'argent, les deux sens étant attestés et les deux activités fréquemment cumulées. Le chrétien est, par son métier, proche de l'élite de la communauté juive.

et poussant Théodose à devenir chrétien, car il le connaissait bien et avait avec lui beaucoup d'intimité⁶. Un jour, ledit Philippe s'adressa audit Théodose à peu près en ces termes : "Comment un homme savant comme toi et connaissant exactement les textes de la Loi et des Prophètes qui annoncent à l'avance le Seigneur Christ, peut-il ne pas croire en ce dernier et devenir chrétien ? Car, en ce qui te concerne, je suis convaincu que, bien que tu refuses de devenir chrétien, tu n'ignores pas ce que les Écritures divinement inspirées ont prédit sur la venue de notre commun Maître. Hâte-toi donc de sauver ton âme en croyant en notre Sauveur et Seigneur Jésus-Christ, pour éviter qu'en persistant dans ton impiété tu ne t'exposes toi-même à une condamnation éternelle." Le juif écouta le chrétien, acquiesça, le remercia pour ses paroles et lui répondit ceci : "Je te sais gré de l'affection que tu me portes selon Dieu et des efforts que tu fais, soucieux du salut de mon âme, pour me pousser à devenir chrétien. Aussi te parlerai-je sans ruse ni cachotterie, avec une parfaite sincérité, comme devant Dieu qui connaît et voit ce qui est caché dans nos cœurs. Que soit venu le Christ annoncé par la Loi et les Prophètes et que vous, chrétiens, vénériez, je le sais et le reconnais sans hésiter devant un ami intime comme toi, qui cherches toujours à me faire du bien. C'est un calcul humain qui me retient de me faire chrétien, et je suis le premier à m'en blâmer. Mais je suis juif, chef des juifs, je jouis d'une grande considération, de cadeaux nombreux et de grands avantages matériels en cette vie. Je suppose que, même si je devenais patriarche de l'Église catholique ou si je recevais de vous des fonctions plus importantes et éminentes, je ne serais pas entouré d'autant de soins attentifs⁷. C'est pour ne pas perdre ce qui me semble si agréable en cette vie, que je méprise, bien à tort sans doute, la vie future. Mais afin de répondre à ton affection par des propos sincères, je vais te révéler un secret tenu caché par nous, les Hébreux, qui fait que nous savons très exactement que le Christ [= l'Oint] vénéré par vous, chrétiens, est bien celui que proclamaient à l'avance la Loi et les Prophètes. Nous le savons non seulement par les textes susdits, mais par un document que nous possédons et par un secret caché. Voici en quoi consiste ce secret."

"Dans les temps anciens, lorsque fut construit le Temple de Jérusalem", on prit l'habitude chez les juifs d'établir autant de prêtres dans le Temple qu'il y a de lettres dans notre alphabet, c'est-à-dire vingt-deux. De là vient aussi que nous comptons vingt-deux livres inspirés par Dieu⁸. Il y avait donc un registre dans le

⁶ Le mot *γνησιότης* a connu la même évolution que l'adjectif *γνησιος*, qui a pris à l'époque impériale et byzantine le sens affectif de «très cher»; cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, XIII (Paris, 1965), 218-222.

⁷ Le *topos* du prêtre juif pressurant ses coreligionnaires est fréquemment utilisé dans la polémique antijudaïque, mais il s'alimente à des sources juives décrivant le statut et les ressources des prêtres; voir notamment Philon d'Alexandrie, *De specialibus legibus*, I, 131-155, éd. trad. S. Daniel, *Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie*, 24 (Paris, 1975), I, 88-101, dont la conclusion est la suivante : que les prêtres vivent dans l'abondance est le meilleur signe de la piété du peuple juif.

⁸ Le second Temple, construit au retour de la captivité de Babylone et achevé vers 517 avant J.-C.

⁹ Les 22 prêtres, correspondant aux 22 lettres de l'alphabet hébraïque, aux 22 livres de

Temple, où était inscrite l'identité des vingt-deux prêtres, avec le nom du père et de la mère. Quand l'un des prêtres mourait, les autres s'assemblaient dans le Temple et, d'un vote commun, établissaient un autre prêtre à la place du défunt pour compléter le nombre de vingt-deux. On écrivait sur le registre : tel jour, tel prêtre est mort, fils d'un tel et d'une telle, et à sa place a été nommé un tel. Cette tradition était en vigueur dans le peuple juif, lorsqu'il arriva, au temps où Jésus se trouvait en Judée, que l'un des vingt-deux prêtres mourut, avant que Jésus eût commencé à se manifester et à apprendre aux hommes à croire en lui¹⁰. Les autres prêtres se réunirent donc afin de nommer un nouveau prêtre à la place de celui qui était mort. Chacun proposait un candidat qui lui paraissait digne d'être promu, mais les autres le refusaient en lui déniaient les mérites nécessaires à la prêtrise. S'il était sage et recommandable par ses mœurs et sa vie, mais ignorant de la Loi et des Prophètes, il était jugé peu indiqué pour devenir prêtre. Ainsi, de nombreux candidats avaient été soumis au vote et tous avaient été refusés, quand l'un des prêtres se leva, se plaça au milieu et dit aux autres : 'Voilà que de nombreux candidats ont été cités par nous, mais ont été jugés inaptes à la prêtrise. Acceptez qu'à mon tour je parle d'un homme qui devrait être nommé à la place du défunt; car je suppose que mon choix ne déplaira à personne d'entre vous.' À l'invitation des autres prêtres, il poursuivit : 'Je voudrais, quant à moi, que ce soit Jésus, le fils du menuisier Joseph, qui remplace le prêtre défunt. Il est jeune, mais se distingue déjà par une éloquence, une vie et des mœurs remarquables. Je pense qu'il n'y eut jamais personne au monde qui pût lui être comparé pour l'éloquence, la vie et les mœurs; et j'imagine que vous tous qui habitez Jérusalem savez cela et le tenez pour indiscutable.' À ces mots, les autres prêtres approuvèrent leur collègue et confirmèrent son choix, en disant que Jésus convenait mieux que personne pour la prêtrise. Toutefois, certains firent observer qu'il n'était pas de la tribu de Lévi, mais de celle de Juda, et, en tenant pour acquis qu'il était le fils de Joseph — ainsi était-il appelé par les juifs —, tous attestèrent qu'en effet Joseph était de la tribu de Juda et non pas de la tribu de Lévi¹¹. Pour cette raison, parce qu'on croyait qu'il n'était pas de la tribu de Lévi, on faisait objection à ce qu'il devint prêtre. Mais le prêtre qui avait cité le nom de Jésus leur répondit qu'il avait une double filiation; qu'autrefois, dans les anciennes générations, il y avait eu, en effet, un mélange des deux tribus et que la famille de Joseph

l'Ancien Testament et aux 22 générations d'Adam à Abraham, sont une légende d'origine juive, mais très tôt passée dans la littérature chrétienne. On la trouve notamment dans la *Palaia*, Épiphanie et Georges le Syncelle; cf. la mise au point très complète de J. Paramelle, *Philon d'Alexandrie, Questions sur la Genèse II, 1-7* [Cahiers d'Orientalisme, III] (Genève, 1984), 36-38. Ce chiffre de 22 prêtres — ou 40 dans une partie de la tradition manuscrite, cf. G. Ziffer, «Contributo allo studio della tradizione slava della "Confessione de Teodosio"», *OCP* 54 (1988), 339, 340, 342 — ne correspond ni à l'organisation de la prêtrise au retour de Babylone et au temps des grands prêtres Josué et Joachim, telle qu'elle est décrite dans *I Esdras*, II, 36-39 et *II Esdras*, VII, 39-42; XII, 1-7 et 12-21, ni aux 24 classes du temps de Flavius Josèphe, qui se dit non seulement de race sacerdotale, mais de la première des 24 classes : *Antiquités judaïques*, VII, 365-366.

¹⁰ C'est-à-dire au retour de Judée, après l'entrée à Jérusalem, *Matthieu*, XXI, 1-11.

¹¹ Voir plus bas.

en était issue¹². À ces mots, les autres prêtres adhérèrent à la proposition, et, à l'unanimité, tous les prêtres assemblés décidèrent de nommer Jésus à la place du défunt. Comme la coutume voulait qu'on inscrivit sur le registre non seulement le nom de celui qui devenait prêtre, mais aussi celui de son père et de sa mère, certains dirent qu'ils devaient d'abord convoquer les parents, apprendre d'eux leur nom et obtenir d'eux confirmation que le futur prêtre était bien leur fils¹³. Tous se rangèrent à cet avis. Celui qui avait le premier proposé Jésus pour la prêtrise dit que Joseph, le père de Jésus, était mort et qu'il ne restait plus que sa mère. Tous furent d'accord pour faire venir la mère au sanhédrin¹⁴ et lui demander si elle était bien la mère de Jésus et si elle l'avait mis au monde, et pour entendre d'elle le nom de l'homme dont elle avait conçu Jésus. Avec l'agrément de tous, la mère de Jésus fut convoquée. Ils lui dirent : 'Attendu qu'est mort le prêtre un tel, fils d'un tel et d'une telle, et que nous voulons le remplacer par ton fils Jésus, la tradition veut que soit enregistré le nom du père et de la mère. Dis-nous si Jésus est bien ton fils et si tu l'as enfanté.' Marie, à ces mots, répondit aux prêtres : 'Jésus est mon fils, je le confirme. C'est bien moi qui l'ai mis au monde; en témoignent les hommes et les femmes qui se trouvaient là pendant que j'accouchai de lui. Il n'a pas de père sur la terre : recevez de moi cette information et prenez-la comme vous voudrez¹⁵. Étant vierge et vivant en Galilée, un ange de Dieu, alors que j'étais éveillée et non endormie, pénétra là où j'habitais et m'annonça la bonne nouvelle que je devais avoir un fils de l'Esprit Saint, qu'il prescrivit d'appeler du nom de Jésus¹⁶. Vierge j'étais quand j'eus cette vision et tombai enceinte, vierge je suis restée jusqu'à maintenant, quand j'eus mis au monde Jésus, même après l'accouchement.' En entendant cela, les prêtres firent venir des sages-femmes sûres et leur donnèrent l'ordre de procéder à un examen pour savoir si vraiment Marie était encore vierge. Celles-ci, renseignées par la réalité des faits, confirmèrent qu'elle était vierge. Furent aussi mandées les femmes qui s'étaient trouvées là et l'avaient vue en train

¹² En principe, l'origine de Joseph importe peu, puisque les prêtres juifs sont censés reconnaître en Jésus le fils de Dieu; mais cette origine détermine celle de Marie, qui n'a pu, selon la loi juive, épouser un homme d'une autre tribu qu'elle.

¹³ Sur l'importance des registres généalogiques dans la communauté juive, voir *I Esdras*, II, 62 : «Ceux qui cherchèrent leur registre de généalogie et ne les trouvèrent pas, furent exclus du sacerdoce». Flavius Josèphe donne sur sa famille des renseignements généalogiques «extraits des archives publiques», *Autobiographie*, 2, éd. trad. A. Pelletier (Paris, 1959), 1-2. Il insiste ailleurs sur les «soins pris pour assurer la pureté de la race des prêtres. En effet, celui qui participe au sacerdoce doit, pour engendrer, s'unir à une femme de même nation et, sans considération de fortune ni autres distinctions, faire une enquête sur sa famille, extraire des archives la succession de ses parents et présenter de nombreux témoins», *Contre Apion*, 1, 30-36, éd. trad. Th. Reinach & L. Blum, (Paris, 1932), 8-9.

¹⁴ Le terme est employé improprement, car le sanhédrin, institué au retour de Babylone, compte, outre le grand prêtre, 70 membres recrutés parmi les prêtres, scribes et anciens. Il a surtout un pouvoir judiciaire.

¹⁵ En grec : *ὡς βούλεσθε/ὡς ἂν βούλησθε*. On peut hésiter sur le sens «puisque vous voulez le savoir...» ou «prenez cette information comme vous le voudrez».

¹⁶ *Luc*, 1, 26-31.

d'accoucher : elles témoignèrent que Jésus était bien son fils. Stupéfaits de ce que disaient Marie et les témoins de son accouchement, les prêtres dirent en réponse à Marie : 'Dis-nous en toute confiance, pour que nous l'entendions de ta bouche, de quelle femme il est né et de quel père il est le fils, pour que nous l'enregistrons tel quel. Car ce sont les parents que tu déclareras, et personne d'autre, que nous enregistrerons.' Elle répondit : 'C'est vraiment moi qui l'ai mis au monde, sans lui connaître de père sur la terre, mais j'ai entendu de l'ange qu'il était fils de Dieu. Il est donc mon fils, fils de la nommée Marie, et fils de Dieu; et n'ayant pas connu de mari, je suis vierge.' À ces mots, les prêtres apportèrent le registre et y portèrent l'inscription suivante : 'Tel jour, mourut le prêtre un tel, fils d'un tel et d'une telle, et devint prêtre à sa place par un vote unanime Jésus, fils du Dieu vivant et de la Vierge Marie'. Ce registre fut sauvé du Temple par ceux qui exerçaient les plus hautes fonctions chez les juifs au temps de la prise du Temple et de Jérusalem¹⁷, et il est déposé à Tibériade¹⁸. Ce secret n'est connu que de gens de notre peuple très peu nombreux et très sûrs. À moi, comme chef et didascale du peuple juif, il me fut révélé. Nous sommes avertis que le Christ vénéré par vous, chrétiens, est bien le fils du Dieu vivant, venu sur terre pour le salut du monde, non seulement par la Loi et les Prophètes, mais aussi par ce document jusqu'à maintenant conservé et qui se trouve à Tibériade."¹⁹

«Ayant entendu les propos que lui tenait le juif, le chrétien, mu par un zèle divin, s'écria : "Je vais sur le champ rapporter au fidèle et pieux empereur ce que tu as dit, afin qu'il envoie des gens à Tibériade et fasse connaître le registre dont tu parles pour convaincre d'impiété les juifs." Mais le juif dit au chrétien : "Pourquoi veux-tu exposer ton âme à un grief et le reporter sur l'empereur sans pour autant réussir dans ton dessein ? Si tu réalises ce projet, une grande bataille ne manquera pas d'éclater, des meurtres s'ensuivront; et alors, si les juifs sentent qu'ils ont le dessous, ils mettront le feu à l'endroit où est déposé le registre; notre peine sera vaine, puisque nous n'aurons pas atteint le but recherché et que nous serons seulement responsables du sang versé¹⁹. Je t'ai fait ces révélations comme à un ami sincère et dévoué, pour te convaincre que ce n'est pas par ignorance mais par vaine gloire que je me détourne du christianisme"..."

L'argentier Philippe ne tente donc aucune démarche auprès de l'empereur, pour éviter que la preuve cachée de la prêtrise et de la divinité de

¹⁷ Par Titus en 70 après J.-C.

¹⁸ Tibériade était le siège du sanhédrin et de l'école judaïque la plus célèbre. Les rabbins de Tibériade auraient assisté le roi himyarite dans sa guerre contre les chrétiens de Najrân : I. Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran. New Documents* (Bruxelles, 1971), 44-45; c'est là qu'Héraclius, en route vers Jérusalem, rencontre l'un des principaux chefs du judaïsme et le baptise de force : Théophane, éd. de Boor, 328; quelques années plus tard, la ville est encore citée comme la capitale religieuse du judaïsme : *Doctrina Jacobī*, I, 42; V, 6, éd. V. Déroche dans G. Dagron & V. Déroche, «Juifs et Chrétiens dans l'Orient du VII^e siècle», *TM* 11 (1991), 132-133, 192-193, 240-241 (commentaire).

¹⁹ Le «nous», qui est évité dans certaines versions, rend l'idée que, même si le juif et le chrétien unissaient leurs efforts, ils ne pourraient réussir.

Jésus ne soit anéantie. Mais il diffuse largement l'information parmi ses amis. Le narrateur, qui reprend ici la parole, a entendu le récit de la bouche de certains d'entre eux et s'est aussitôt plongé dans les livres pour mener une enquête qui l'authentifie : il trouve dans Flavius Josèphe, ce juif — précise-t-il — auquel se réfère si souvent Eusèbe de Césarée et qui apporte aux événements de la vie du Christ la caution de l'histoire, que Jésus accomplissait avec les prêtres des actes liturgiques dans le sanctuaire²⁰; il lit dans l'Évangile de Luc que Jésus a pénétré dans la synagogue des juifs, qu'on lui a donné un livre et qu'il a lu la parole d'Isaïe «L'esprit du Seigneur est sur moi ...»²¹, preuve qu'il faisait partie du clergé, puisque le judaïsme sans doute, et le christianisme en tout cas, ne permettent la lecture publique des Écritures qu'à ceux qui ont au moins rang de «lecteur»²². Témoinage historique et texte saint concordent : le juif Théodose a donc dit vrai.

Si la *Souda* reprend cette historiette, c'est parce qu'elle a été très largement diffusée en grec et dans toutes les langues de l'Orient chrétien. Grâce à quelques études préliminaires, sa tradition apparaît maintenant dans toute sa complexité et s'enrichit de témoins nouveaux si nombreux et composites qu'ils rendent difficile ou même aléatoire tout classement. Je me contenterai de résumer ici quelques-unes des conclusions du futur éditeur, Giorgio Ziffer²³. Il n'est guère douteux que l'original soit grec, mais les homéliaires géorgiens les plus anciens font une place à notre récit en le rattachant souvent — ce qui est normal, mais significatif — à la littérature sur la généalogie de la Vierge²⁴. Dans sa rédaction arabe, le

²⁰ Référence imaginaire, comme souvent pour Flavius Josèphe.

²¹ *Luc*, IV, 16-21. Nombreux sont les autres passages de l'Évangile où le Christ enseigne dans les synagogues (*Matthieu*, XII, 9; XIII, 54) ou au Temple de Jérusalem (*Matthieu*, XXI-XXIII).

²² Le lectorat est le premier des ordres; les lecteurs sont exclus du *bèma*, mais ils ont le privilège de la lecture de l'Évangile à l'ambon.

²³ La publication est annoncée dans le *Corpus Christianorum*, Series Apocryphorum: F. G. Nuvolone est chargé de la tradition occidentale (latine, italienne et anglo-normande). Parmi les travaux préliminaires, voir notamment G. Ziffer, «Una versione greca inedita del De sacerdotio Christi», dans *Studi per Riccardo Ribuoli* (Rome, 1986), 141-173; id., «Contributo allo studio della tradizione slava della "Confessione di Teodosio"», *OCP* 54 (1988), 331-351. Je remercie mon collègue et ami Rainer Stichel de m'avoir aidé à compléter ma bibliographie.

²⁴ S. J. Qubaneisvili, *Dzveli k'art'uli literaturis krestomatia* (Tiflis, 1946), 20-26; M. Van Esbroek, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1975), 200-201, 279.

texte sert notamment de préface à l'*Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie*²⁵. Les versions en vieux slave ou slave ecclésiastique eurent assez de succès pour que Maxime le Grec, au XVI^e siècle, éprouve le besoin de réfuter la légende, comme Glykas, nous le verrons, l'avait fait avant lui²⁶. L'«apocryphe» est aussi connu en latin et encore utilisé au début du XV^e siècle par Ambrogio Traversari²⁷. Il trouve place, en 1556, dans une anthologie de Michael Neander²⁸. En somme, c'est nous qui l'avions oublié et le redécouvrons tardivement.

Les quelque cinquante témoins grecs recensés permettent de distinguer des rédactions plus ou moins longues. 1.) Une rédaction abrégée, incorrecte et pas toujours claire, nous est notamment connue par un manuscrit du XV^e/XVI^e siècle dont Vassiliev a donné l'édition²⁹. Son titre établit un parallèle entre l'anecdote et le *Psaume* CIX : «Démonstration que le Christ a été prêtre. Le Prophète David dit en effet de lui : *Tu es prêtre pour l'éternité dans l'ordre de Melchisédech*». La conclusion ajoute quelques arguments scripturaires à ceux que développent les autres rédactions (c'est en sa qualité de prêtre que Jésus a chassé les marchands du Temple³⁰, s'est assis dans la synagogue pour juger une femme que l'on devait lapider³¹, et a pris librement la parole devant le peuple) et s'achève sur une déclaration de ton très nettement antijudaïque : «Voilà, je vous ai montré comment les juifs assassins de prophètes et sans lois ont fait de notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ un prêtre.» 2.) Une rédaction de longueur moyenne nous est connue depuis longtemps par les deux versions, éditées elles aussi par Vassiliev, assez différentes l'une de l'autre dans la forme mais identiques sur le fond, dont celle que reproduit la *Souda*. Elles pourraient bien constituer deux métaphrases d'un même original³². L'argumentation finale, présentée comme une discrète enquête

²⁵ Éd. B. Evetts, *History of the Patriarch of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, PO 1.2, 120-134. Voir aussi Ziffer, «Contributo», 333 n. 9.

²⁶ Voir A. De Santos Otero, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der slavischen Apokryphen*, II (Berlin - New York, 1981), 152-155; F. J. Thomson, «Apocrypha Slavica», *Slavonic and East European Review* 58 (1980), 256-268; 63 (1985), 73-98.

²⁷ Voir G. Mercati, *Ultimi contributi alla storia degli Umanisti*, fasc. I : *Traversariana* [Studi e Testi, 90] (Vatican, 1939), 70-85 : «Sull'opuscolo *De sacerdotio Christi* attribuito al Traversari».

²⁸ Voir la référence donnée dans BHG 811, que je n'ai pu atteindre et vérifier.

²⁹ BHG 812; A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, I (Moscou, 1893), 58-60.

³⁰ Matthieu, XXI, 12.

³¹ Jean, VIII, 2-11.

³² BHG 810 et 811 (version donnée par la *Souda* et représentée par bien d'autres

du narrateur, ne renvoie qu'à l'Évangile de Luc et à Flavius Josèphe, se gardant bien du ton fracassant adopté dans la rédaction abrégée. 3.) Giorgio Ziffer a montré l'existence d'une version longue, dont le meilleur témoin est géorgien, mais que conservent aussi deux manuscrits grecs, le *Vaticanus gr.* 687 et, en partie, le *Taurinensis gr.* 185³³. Le futur éditeur donne la priorité à la rédaction longue, dont les dialogues garderaient une plus grande intensité dramatique; on peut aussi la trouver bien bavarde et y déceler quelques incohérences. Quoi qu'il en soit, le texte donné par la *Souda* est sans doute celui qui a eu à Byzance la plus large diffusion.

Le récit se situe sous Justinien le Grand, et celui qui le rapporte déclare l'avoir recueilli de la bouche de ceux qui l'ont entendu raconter par l'argentier Philippe lui-même, à une génération d'écart tout au plus. Cet ancrage dans le temps est, bien sûr, un peu formel, et l'analyse interne ne fournit pas d'indications chronologiques précises. Nous sommes évidemment à une époque où la polémique antijudaïque bat son plein, où le rôle de Tibériade comme ultime citadelle du judaïsme est connu, et où le problème des généalogies de Joseph ou de Marie et d'un «mélange» entre les tribus de Juda et de Lévi continue d'être discuté. On pense donc a priori au VII^e siècle, mais cette impression est heureusement confirmée par une preuve irréfutable : une homélie sur la conception de la Vierge de Jean d'«Eubée», auteur du milieu du VIII^e siècle, fait usage de notre récit³⁴; il n'en suspecte ni l'authenticité ni la véracité, le cite abondamment et le replace dans le contexte qui était le sien, celui d'une polémique aussi virulente qu'imprudente, qui fait flèche de tout bois. Le récit sur Jésus prêtre illustre l'«endurcissement» (πώρωσις) des juifs; il montre l'exactitude littérale de la prophétie du *Psaume* CIX, 4 appliquée au Christ : «Tu es prêtre à jamais à la manière de Melchisédech»; il établit la double généalogie de la Vierge de race royale et de race sacerdotale (ἐκ φυλῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ ἀρχιερατικῆς); il confirme la brève allusion de *Luc*, II, 52 : «Et Jésus avançait en sagesse devant Dieu

manuscrits); Vassiliev publie ces deux versions sur deux colonnes parallèles (*Anecdota*, 60-72).

³³ «Una versione greca inedita».

³⁴ *Sermo in conceptionem Deiparae*, 18, PG 96, 1489-1492. Sur l'auteur, qui n'est «J'Eubée» que par l'erreur d'un copiste, voir F. J. Dölger, «Johannes von Euböia», *AnalBoll* 68 (1950), 5-26; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 502-503. Le rapprochement entre cette homélie et le *De sacerdote Christi*, fait par M. J. Sokolov à la fin du siècle dernier, est repris par G. Ziffer, «Contributo», 340-341.

et les hommes»; enfin, il laisse prévoir qu'à la Seconde Parousie, le registre secrètement conservé sera lu pour la confusion et la condamnation définitive des juifs.

L'homélie de Jean d'«Eubée» apporte, en même temps qu'un précieux *terminus ante quem*, la preuve que le récit fut composé pour servir d'argument dans les vifs débats qui visaient alors, nous le savons, à convertir les juifs ou à déjudaïser le christianisme, et où s'exprimaient des sentiments mêlés d'attirance et de haine, de proximité et d'éloignement. Il cherche à frapper l'imagination en décrivant une minutieuse procédure, qui est l'habillage habituel des faux³⁵ : pièces d'archives, avalanche de témoignages, expertise scabreuse. Il mobilise toutes les ressources d'une paperasserie bien romaine pour prouver l'immaculée conception et la divinité du Christ. Le scénario met parfaitement en valeur l'idée que se font alors les chrétiens d'Orient du judaïsme et des juifs. On n'oublie ni que Jésus lui-même était juif ni que le christianisme se greffe sur le judaïsme; on n'exclut pas non plus une amitié personnelle entre un juif et un chrétien. Mais cette proximité ne fait qu'aviver la polémique : les juifs préférèrent les biens matériels aux biens spirituels; ils ne résistent ni aux jouissances terrestres ni aux plaisirs de vanité; ils ne se déterminent pas en fonction d'une croyance, mais d'un refus de croire, puisqu'ils peuvent lire dans leurs propres textes la vérité du christianisme, mais s'abstiennent de la proclamer. Ils ne sont pas des étrangers, mais des dissidents, les ennemis intimes des chrétiens. Ces idées banales sont ici poussées jusqu'au paradoxe. Ce sont les juifs qui détiennent la preuve formelle de la vérité du christianisme, qui fait défaut aux chrétiens eux-mêmes, réduits à croire sur parole. Jamais ils ne produiront cette preuve qui les accuse, et jamais non plus les chrétiens ne pourront se la procurer, parce qu'elle serait détruite avant d'être atteinte.

Peut-être le récit ne visait-il qu'à disqualifier les juifs. Mais en faisant du Christ un prêtre du judaïsme reconnu comme fils de Dieu par les autres prêtres dans un registre secret de Tibériade, il abordait un sujet dangereux : non pas la divinité du Christ ou la virginité de Marie, constatée ici, comme dans le *Prôtévangile de Jacques*³⁶, par l'examen d'une sage-femme, mais le double caractère du Christ, prêtre et roi. Aussi la légende de Jésus prêtre juif, connue et utilisée aux VII^e-VIII^e siècles, ne fut-elle jamais tout à fait incorporée au genre bien codifié et volontiers

³⁵ Voir W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum* (Munich, 1971), 71-79.

³⁶ XIX-XX, éd. trad. E. de Strycker (Bruxelles, 1961), 150-167.

répétitif de la polémique antijudaïque, et suscita-t-elle plus que des réserves lorsqu'elle refit surface, quelques siècles plus tard, dans le contexte d'une orthodoxie plus assurée et mieux contrôlée.

Elle surprend, séduit et agace, signe qu'elle est prise au sérieux et touche à quelques points sensibles. La *Souda* la recueille avec un *ὅτι* qui vaut guillemets et dégage de toute responsabilité, et une scolie marginale atteste la surprise indignée d'un lecteur un peu théologien : «Jean Chrysostome n'admet absolument pas cette prêtrise attribuée au Christ». Un texte mis sous le nom de Néophyte le Reclus (*circa* 1134-1214), mais d'authenticité douteuse, se fonde sur notre récit pour affirmer la «prêtrise du Christ» et aussitôt s'interroger : Pourquoi le Christ a-t-il accepté le vote de ces prêtres injustes et ne les a-t-il pas plutôt lui-même déposés ? Par modestie, Jésus allait jusqu'à prêcher l'obéissance aux prêtres juifs ; il voulait, en entrant dans le Temple et en enseignant le peuple, réaliser la prophétie «Tu es prêtre ...». S'il n'avait pas été prêtre, il n'aurait su répondre, lorsqu'il chassa les marchands du temple, à la question : «À quel titre fais-tu tout cela ?». Enfin et surtout, il lui fallait être à la fois sacrificateur et victime³⁷. C'est donc affaire d'«économie».

Glykas, lui, prend plus nettement parti. Il rejette la légende par une brève allusion dans ses *Annales*³⁸, et la discute longuement dans ses *Aporiai*³⁹. Il fallait, écrit-il, la crédulité d'un argentier pour prendre au sérieux cette invention malveillante d'un juif. Pourquoi le secret aurait-il été conservé depuis Jésus jusqu'à Justinien ? Comment le Christ aurait-il pu être élu à la prêtrise juive à vingt-cinq ans, alors que les Écritures et les Pères ne font commencer sa vie publique qu'à trente ans ? Comment aurait été choisi comme prêtre un descendant de David et non d'Aaron (*Hébreux*, VII, 13) ? Glykas a beau jeu d'opposer, avec saint Paul, la prêtrise dans l'ordre de Melchisédech à la prêtrise institutionnelle dans l'ordre d'Aaron. Il a pour lui la théologie orthodoxe, l'exégèse officielle et une tradition qui a peu à peu occulté un débat jugé périlleux et fermé les pistes où la légende, précisément, s'aventurait.

On trouve dans l'Ancien Testament de nombreuses évocations de la promesse faite par Dieu à David que sa maison et sa royauté dureraient à

³⁷ Voir I. P. Tsiknopoullos, «Τὰ Ἐλάσσονα τοῦ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου», *Byz* 39 (1969), 318-419, notamment 344-348, où le texte utilisé est une variante de celui de la *Souda* (*BIIG* 811n). L'authenticité est fortement mise en doute par J. Darrouzès, «Les manuscrits originaux de Chypre à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris», *REB* 8 (1950), 175.

³⁸ Éd. Bonn, 394.

³⁹ 54, éd. S. Eustratiadès (Athènes, 1906), II, 92-107.

jamais. À II Samuel, VII, 8-16 font écho le Psaume CXXXI, 11 : «Du fruit de tes entrailles, je mettrai quelqu'un sur ton trône» et une allusion tardive du texte de la Genèse (XLIX, 8-10)⁴⁰ décrivant les adieux de Jacob à ses fils et prévoyant elle aussi que la royauté resterait dans la tribu de Juda au moins jusqu'à la venue du Messie. Mais quel partage devait prévaloir lors de cette venue ? Les écrits «intertestamentaires» nous livrent, sur ce sujet, les spéculations de communautés juives : la Règle de la Communauté, un texte essénien de Qoumrân, annonce deux Messies, un Messie-prêtre et un Messie-roi⁴¹, qui restaureront dans leur simple légitimité les pouvoirs sacerdotaux et régaliens. Ces deux Messies sont confondus en un seul dans l'Écrit de Damas, qui évoque au singulier «l'avènement de l'Oint d'Aaron et d'Israël»⁴². Les Testaments des douze patriarches, ultimes recommandations et prédictions des douze fils de Jacob à leurs enfants respectifs, témoignent encore d'hésitations dans la tradition messianique quelques décennies avant que le christianisme ne prenne le relais⁴³ : tandis que le Testament de Juda affirme que le salut viendra de l'un de ses descendants⁴⁴, les Testaments de Syméon⁴⁵, de Lévi⁴⁶, de Dan⁴⁷, de Gad⁴⁸, de Joseph⁴⁹ prévoient soit deux

⁴⁰ Voir les indications bibliographiques données dans M. Harl, *La Bible d'Alexandrie. La Genèse* (Paris, 1986), 308-309.

⁴¹ IX, 10-11, trad. A. Dupont-Sommer dans *La Bible. Écrits intertestamentaires*, éd. publiée sous la direction de A. Dupont-Sommer et M. Philonenko [Bibliothèque de la Pléiade] (Paris, 1987), 35. Voir aussi l'«Introduction générale» du volume, par A. Caquot et M. Philonenko, XLIV-XLVI.

⁴² XII, 23 - XIII, 1, trad. Dupont-Sommer, *Écrits intertestamentaires*, 175.

⁴³ Chacun des «patriarches», s'adressant à sa descendance, prophétise les fautes qui seront punies de l'exil, le retour, et enfin l'émergence des tribus de Lévi et de Juda, d'où viendra le salut. On a longtemps cru que ces Testaments avaient été écrits par des chrétiens et en tout cas interpolés par eux; mais ils sont sans doute d'origine essénienne, datables, dans leur état actuel, de la seconde moitié du 1^{er} siècle avant J.-C., et si quelques modifications par des copistes chrétiens ne sont pas à exclure, l'inspiration messianique ne vient pas d'eux. Voir *Écrits intertestamentaires*, Introduction générale, LXXV-LXXXI, et les commentaires du dernier éditeur, M. De Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Leyde, 1978).

⁴⁴ XXII, 2-3 et XXIV, 1-5, éd. De Jonge, *The Testaments*, 75, 76-77; trad. M. Philonenko, *Écrits intertestamentaires*, 871-874.

⁴⁵ VII, 1-2, éd. De Jonge, 22; trad. Philonenko, 832.

⁴⁶ II, 11 et VIII, 11-15, éd. De Jonge, 26, 34; trad. Philonenko, 837, 844.

⁴⁷ V, 10, éd. De Jonge, 108; trad. Philonenko, 897.

⁴⁸ VIII, 1, éd. De Jonge, 133; trad. Philonenko, 913.

⁴⁹ Testament de Joseph, XIX, 6-7 (11-12), éd. De Jonge, 165-166; trad. Philonenko, 933-934.

Messies issus l'un de Juda, l'autre de Lévi, soit un Messie issu d'un mélange des deux tribus.

Ce furent ensuite les chrétiens qui s'interrogèrent et dressèrent des généalogies pour montrer que le Christ était bien issu de Juda et qu'il pouvait donc être tenu pour le bénéficiaire de la promesse faite à son ancêtre David. Ils tentèrent ainsi de répondre à la polémique juive, reprise par certains païens, qui faisait de Marie une femme d'humble origine, «coiffeuse», marchande de pois, prostituée, en tout cas débauchée et adultère, dont il était ridicule de faire la descendante d'une race royale et dont le fils ne pouvait être le Messie⁵⁰. Des filiations contradictoires s'élaborèrent, aboutissant à Joseph, au père «selon la loi» juive, ou à Marie, à la mère «selon la chair». L'évangéliste Matthieu en donne une (I, 15-16), Luc une autre, en exprimant un léger doute sur son exactitude (III, 23-24). Jean laisse entendre que Jésus lui-même croyait à son origine davidique : «Sachant qu'ils allaient venir l'enlever pour le faire roi, il s'enfuit à nouveau dans la montagne, seul» (VI, 15). Et saint Paul à son tour affirme fortement que Jésus était «issu de la lignée de David» (*Romains*, I, 1-4). Lorsque les critiques des juifs, toujours aussi fortes et resurgissant encore au VII^e siècle⁵¹, ne risquèrent en tout cas plus d'entamer la crédibilité de la nouvelle religion, il resta à l'exégèse chrétienne à rendre compte des divergences entre Matthieu et Luc, et à les interpréter. Des schémas généalogiques aboutissant à Marie circulèrent jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Âge dans les littératures chrétiennes de langue grecque, géorgienne, arménienne et slave⁵², dont le plus ancien et le plus souvent repris apparaît dans une lettre de Sextus Julius Africanus, écrite vers 240, que l'on reconstitue à partir de larges extraits donnés par Eusèbe⁵³ et de quelques compléments trouvés dans des «chaines»⁵⁴. La

⁵⁰ M. Lods, «Étude sur les sources juives de la polémique de Celse contre les chrétiens», *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse* 21 (1941), 1-33, notamment 6-7. Dès le second siècle, l'origine davidique de Jésus est affirmée dans des écrits de polémique antijudaïque, par exemple dans Justin, *Apol.*, I, 32; *Diul.*, 43, 45, 100, 120, PG 6, 377, 380, 568, 572, 739.

⁵¹ Ainsi dans la *Doctrina Jacobi*, I, 41-42, éd. trad. Déroche, dans Dagron & Déroche, «Juifs et Chrétiens», 130-135, 251.

⁵² M. Van Esbroeck, «Généalogie de la Vierge en géorgien», *AnalBoll* 91 (1973), 347-356, où le problème est traité dans son ensemble. Pour Byzance, mentionnons particulièrement Jean Damascène, *Expositio fidei*, 87 (IV, 14), éd. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, II (Berlin - New York, 1973), 198-200; Épiphanie le Moine, *De vita sanctissimae Deiparae*, PG 120, 188-189.

⁵³ *Hist. eccl.*, I, 7, 1-17.

⁵⁴ W. Reichardt, *Die Briefe des Sextus Iulianus Africanus an Aristides und Origenes*

vogue de ces généalogies atteint son point culminant aux VII^e-VIII^e siècles, dans le contexte de la polémique antijudaïque.

En fait, le problème de Julius Africanus — et après lui de tous les autres — est double : expliquer par un remariage et un aboutissement différent (Marie au lieu de Joseph) les contradictions entre la généalogie de Matthieu qui remonte à David par Salomon, et celle de Luc qui remonte à David par Nathan; établir que ces deux généalogies, une fois accordées, font apparaître non pas seulement une filiation davidique rattachant la Vierge et le Christ à la tribu de Juda, mais un «mélange des races» (*μῑξῖς τῶν γενῶν, ἐπιμῑξία*) qui fait appartenir le Messie et sa mère à la fois à la tribu de Juda, dépositaire de la royauté, et à celle de Lévi, dépositaire du sacerdoce. Julius Africanus critique ceux qui, de son temps, cherchent par manque de foi à prouver par des filiations charnelles une union du sacerdoce et de la royauté dans le Messie, qui a été solennellement annoncée par les Patriarches et les Prophètes; mais sa lettre n'en rattache pas moins cette fusion à un mélange des tribus de Juda et de Lévi intervenu à haute époque, lors du mariage d'Aron avec Élisabeth fille de Juda (*Exode*, VI, 23), et à une époque plus récente, lors du mariage d'Élisabeth, parente de Marie et mère de saint Jean-Baptiste, avec le lévite Zacharie (*Luc*, I, 36). Telle est l'«économie divine» qui assure au Messie, chez les chrétiens comme chez les juifs, la double qualification de roi et de prêtre.

Lorsque l'histoire et la géographie retirèrent à la confrontation entre juifs et chrétiens son acuité, l'exégèse et la théologie officielles choisirent une autre voie. Les généalogies de la Vierge et de Joseph n'occupèrent plus qu'une place marginale et n'eurent plus d'autre but que de mettre d'accord entre eux les évangélistes sur une filiation davidique. On passa bientôt sous silence le «mélange des tribus» donnant au Christ double origine et double vocation. Saint Paul déjà présentait l'Incarnation comme une rupture : l'ordre précédent est aboli; le roi-prêtre Melchisédech, figure du Christ, est sans généalogie ni descendance; la prêtrise et la royauté du Christ ne sont ni héritées ni transmissibles et ne doivent en tout cas rien au judaïsme⁵⁵.

Notre récit vient contre cette idée qui commençait à s'enraciner au moment où il fut composé. Mais il est porté par une autre tendance du

[*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 34.4] (Leipzig, 1909), voir notamment 28-41 (introduction), 53-62 (texte de l'*epistola ad Aristidem*).

⁵⁵ *Hébreux*, VII, 18-24.

christianisme oriental, qui cherche au contraire à établir une continuité plutôt qu'une coupure entre le judaïsme et le christianisme, à faire valoir le passé judaïque au lieu de le stériliser, à rejudaïser le christianisme au lieu de le déjudaïser. Ainsi, une tradition reprise par Épiphane fait, à défaut de Jésus lui-même, de son «frère» Jacques, considéré comme l'un des fils d'un premier mariage de Joseph, un prêtre juif devenu un peu plus tard évêque chrétien⁵⁶.

Ce serait faire trop d'honneur à l'auteur d'une vulgaire légende que de l'inclure dans un «courant de pensée». Aussi nous contenterons-nous de remarquer que sa mémoire retient quelques bribes d'un très sérieux et très ancien débat et que son imagination le pousse, sans qu'il s'en rende clairement compte, vers une zone que l'exégèse a balisée comme dangereuse. Le résultat est paradoxal : une fois encore c'est un écrit de polémique antijudaïque qui nous révèle, sous une forme presque mythique, la diversité des liens historiques ou imaginaires qui unissent juifs et chrétiens. À l'incompréhension ou aux critiques des lecteurs de l'époque des Comnènes, on mesure le chemin parcouru en cinq siècles.

⁵⁶ *Panarion*, XXIX, éd. K. Höll, I [GCS, 25] (Leipzig, 1915), 321-325, à propos de l'hérésie des Nazôréens; ce chapitre difficile est commenté dans A. Pourkier, *L'hérésiologie chez Épiphane de Salamine* (Paris, 1992), 415-475 (419-438 pour les passages qui nous intéressent).

L'HAGIOGRAPHIE PALESTINIENNE ET LA RÉCEPTION DU CONCILE DE CHALCÉDOINE

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L'hagiographie palestinienne présente une particularité remarquable. Elle déroule sous nos yeux, comme les peintures des églises¹, tout un cortège de saints moines et fait succéder aux ascètes d'Égypte — Antoine, Arsène — les grands moines du désert de Juda : Euthyme et Gérasime, Théodose et Sabas. Euthyme, qui arrive en Terre sainte vers l'an 403, hérite à distance des charismes d'Arsène; Sabas hérite des charismes d'Euthyme, et meurt en 532. Du début du V^e siècle jusqu'au milieu du VI^e la sainteté monastique traverse sans interruption le temps dans la pureté de son orthodoxie. Mais cette simplicité linéaire ne reflète nullement l'histoire beaucoup plus complexe des textes hagiographiques produits par les moines de la Ville sainte ou de son désert. Pour nous en tenir aux vies conservées en grec, la première œuvre notable — je parle ici de l'hagiographie monastique narrative — est la *Vie de sainte Mélanie*², écrite peu après 439 dans ce qui est alors le véritable centre du monachisme palestinien, à savoir la Ville sainte elle-même. À l'autre extrémité, nous trouvons la brillante floraison qui marque l'époque justinienne : *Vie de saint Théodose* par Théodore de Pétra, *Monachikai historiai* de Cyrille de Scythopolis, écrites à la gloire des monastères du désert ou de ses marges, devenus si puissants³. Entre les deux, pendant plus

¹ Voir par ex. la fresque du naos de l'Enkleistra, mur occidental, registre inférieur, que C. Mango et E. J. Hawkins («The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and its Wall Paintings», *DOP* 20 [1966], 153-155) décrivent comme «un patèrikon en peinture» et qui représente les ascètes suivants : 1. Antoine; 2. Arsène; 3. Euthyme; 4. Amoun le Nitriote; 5. Andronic; 6. Daniel de Scété; 7. Théodose le Cénobiarque; 8. Jean Climaque; 9. Onuphre; 10. Macaire; 11. Paésius; 12. Étienne le Jeune.

² *BHG* 1241; éd. D. Gorce, *Vie de sainte Mélanie* [Sources chrétiennes, 90] (Paris, 1962).

³ La *Vie de s. Théodose* par Théodore de Pétra (*BHG* 1776 = *CPG* 7533) semble avoir été publiée au plus tôt après 536, au plus tard après 547 (voir A.-J. Festugière, *Moines d'Orient* III, 3 [Paris, 1963], p. 85); pour la chronologie des œuvres de Cyrille de Scythopolis, voir B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'œuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis*

d'un siècle, nulle vie, pour ce milieu, ne nous est conservée en grec et ce hiatus est si important qu'on peut hésiter à parler, pour le V^e et le VI^e siècles, d'une véritable histoire de l'hagiographie palestinienne. La *Vie de Mélanie* d'un côté, les *Monachikai historiai* de l'autre apparaissent comme des monuments isolés.

Cette discontinuité n'est qu'apparente, et les historiens de l'Église ou de la Palestine savent bien qu'il faut tenir compte de vies monophysites, qu'ils ont l'habitude d'utiliser. Mais ces vies, correctement exploitées par les historiens, semblent pénétrer plus lentement dans l'univers des spécialistes de l'hagiographie. À cause de la langue qui les conserve, essentiellement le syriaque, sans doute aussi parce que les héros qu'elles célèbrent n'ont pas été inscrits dans le sanctoral orthodoxe, elles apparaissent comme des productions excentriques ou exotiques, et leur véritable importance tend à être négligée. Il y a là le risque d'une erreur de perspective, que les traductions dans les langues modernes, en particulier, propagent⁴, et qui peut être corrigée si l'on prend garde aux conséquences qu'a eues sur la littérature de Palestine la crise ouverte par le concile de Chalcédoine.

LA RÉCEPTION DE CHALCÉDOINE

L'histoire particulière de la production hagiographique en Palestine, pour l'époque considérée, dépend en effet étroitement de l'attitude, ou plutôt des attitudes successives des moines du patriarcat de Jérusalem face au concile de Chalcédoine tout au long d'une crise dont L. Perrone a décrit les étapes⁵.

Avant même la fin du concile, alors que Juvénal, reniant l'engagement qui avait été le sien au concile d'Éphèse II en 449, s'était rallié à la condamnation de Dioscore et à la nouvelle définition christologique, les

(Paris, 1983), p. 32-34. La *Vie de Théognios* par Paul d'Éluse (CPG 7530), antérieure, n'offre pas d'intérêt pour les questions ici traitées : les conflits christologiques en sont curieusement absents.

⁴ Le programme que suit Festugière dans ses *Moines d'Orient*, III, 1-3 (Paris, 1962-1963) est à cet égard caractéristique, ainsi que la justification qu'il en donne dans son introduction à la traduction de Théodore de Pétra (III, 3, p. 83) : «Trois raisons m'ont conduit à joindre au texte de Cyrille cet insipide morceau de rhétorique. La première et la principale est le désar que le dossier des moines des Palestine soit complet.» Mais le dossier n'est nullement complet. Les traductions plus récentes (voir l'article de G. Gould, «Christian Monasticism in Palestine and Syria», *Dialogos* 1 [1994], pp. 42-47), qui, pour la Palestine, se concentrent sur les œuvres grecques, risquent de perpétuer cette illusion.

⁵ L. Perrone, *La chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche* (Brescia, 1980), en particulier p. 89-202.

moines de son patriarcat, massivement, choisissent le parti inverse, se révoltent et favorisent l'installation sur le siège de Jérusalem d'un intrus, Théodose, qui procède bien vite à l'installation d'évêques de son choix pour les sièges laissés provisoirement vacants par les partisans de Juvénal. Cette phase de la crise est brève et violente. Dès 453, Théodose et ses partisans sont chassés, Juvénal et ses évêques réinstallés⁶. La révolte des moines a été réprimée, mais leur adhésion aux décisions du concile n'est nullement acquise. La situation est dès lors la suivante : à un épiscopat chalcédonien s'oppose le parti des moines, hostile au concile.

Cette opposition dure fort longtemps, pendant la trentaine d'années qui suivent le concile et qui constitue la période pour laquelle L. Perrone parle de chalcédonisme minimal⁷. Le pouvoir impérial hésite, les patriarches de Jérusalem cherchent, ou trouvent, des compromis⁸. Quant aux moines, sans doute traversés de divers courants, ils campent majoritairement sur leurs positions, acceptant parfois cependant que le concile de Chalcédoine ne soit pas explicitement anathématisé. Il faut attendre 479 environ pour voir l'un d'entre eux, Marcien, l'higoumène influent d'un cénobion proche de Bethléem, proposer de sortir de la crise en tirant au sort entre le parti des évêques et celui qui est, à l'époque encore, le parti des moines. Or, nous dit Cyrille de Scythopolis, «le sort tomba sur les évêques⁹». L'union, ainsi que nous le savons par Zacharie le Scolastique, semble s'être faite autour d'une formule qui, anticipant celle de Zénon dans son *Hénoticon*, ne reconnaît en fait que trois conciles et adopte vis-à-vis de Chalcédoine une position au moins ambiguë, puisqu'elle condamne tout ce qui a pu être fait contre la foi de Nicée «que ce soit à Rimini, à Sardique, à Chalcédoine ou ailleurs¹⁰».

Cette union où les monophysites intransigeants ou les chalcédoniens radicaux ne pouvaient se reconnaître est suivie d'une évolution dont la logique et les étapes sont obscures¹¹ et, à la fin du V^e siècle, en particulier sous le patriarcat d'Hélias (494-516) nous voyons l'Église de Pale-

⁶ Ibid., p. 89-102.

⁷ Ibid., p. 89.

⁸ Même Juvénal, sur la fin de sa vie, adopte une attitude de compromis. Il faut attendre ensuite le pontificat d'Hélias (494-516) pour voir un patriarche de Jérusalem s'engager franchement dans la lutte pour l'acceptation du concile.

⁹ Cyrille de Scyth., *V. Euth.*, éd. Schwartz, p. 67.

¹⁰ Zacharie le Scolastique, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, V, vi (trad. F. J. Hamilton - E. W. Brooks, *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mytilene* [Londres, 1899], p. 115).

¹¹ Cf. L. Perrone, op. cit., p. 141, qui note que le changement reste «piuttosto enigmatico».

stine, moines compris, s'engager plus résolument dans une adhésion au concile, de sorte que, sous Anastase, alors que le pouvoir central cherche à imposer une ligne anti-chalcédonienne, Jérusalem fait figure de foyer de résistance à la politique impériale. En 516, tandis qu'Hélias a été exilé et qu'Anastase a installé un certain Jean, sur lequel il pense pouvoir compter, les moines interviennent. Dix-mille d'entre eux, nous dit-on, se réunissent à Saint-Étienne. Leurs chefs Théodose et Sabas encadrent le nouveau patriarche monté à l'ambon, et celui-ci ne peut que faire acclamer le concile. Théodose, seul cette fois, s'écrie : « Si quelqu'un n'accepte pas les quatre conciles comme les quatre évangiles, qu'il soit anathème¹² ! »

Pour mieux comprendre ce slogan, qui résume la position du monachisme palestinien, nous disposons d'un document plus explicite, à dater de 518. Il s'agit d'une pétition — *déèsis* — adressée à l'empereur Anastase par les moines de Palestine et leurs chefs Sabas et Théodose¹³. L'authenticité du document transmis par Cyrille de Scythopolis n'a pas, à ma connaissance, inspiré de défiance. Deux points méritent d'être soulignés.

Le premier concerne la reconnaissance de la définition de Chalcédoine comme expression de la tradition. On sait quel était l'argument redoutable dont disposaient les anti-chalcédoniens : le concile, en proposant une nouvelle formule christologique, avait innové. Je cite Cyrille de Scythopolis, rapportant les propos d'un moine opposé au concile : « Où a-t-on jamais lu dans la sainte Écriture ou reçu en tradition de l'un des saints pères que le Christ se fait connaître *en deux natures* ? Or c'est là précisément ce que le concile a affirmé solennellement¹⁴. »

Pour sortir de cette difficulté, les moines, dans leur pétition, proposent une réponse assez complexe. Ils reconnaissent implicitement que l'expression en deux natures est neuve dans sa formulation. Mais il ne s'agit que d'une nouveauté apparente, et non réelle : « Les conciles, bien que réunis ... en des temps et des lieux différents contre les multiples ramifications des erreurs hérétiques ... ne diffèrent que par le langage et non par le sens, tout de même que les évangiles écrits par Dieu ne composent qu'une seule image avec un même sens¹⁵. »

¹² Cyrille de Scyth., *V.Sab.*, éd. Schwartz, p. 152. Théodore de Pétra, *V.Theod.*, éd. Usener, p. 58-60, ignore le rôle de Sabas.

¹³ Cyrille de Scyth., *V.Sab.*, p. 152-157; extraits chez Théodore de Pétra, *V.Theod.*, p. 58-59.

¹⁴ Cyrille de Scyth., *V.Euth.*, p. 42.

¹⁵ Cyrille de Scyth., *V.Sab.*, p. 155 (trad. Festugière, *Moines d'Orient*, III. 2, p. 84).

On voit quel est le contenu précis qu'il faut donner au slogan de Théodose. Il ne s'agit pas seulement d'attribuer aux conciles une autorité comparable à celle de l'Écriture, mais d'établir, par analogie avec le Nouveau Testament, la possibilité d'exprimer diversement un même sens. Les différences entre les quatre évangiles servent de modèle pour comprendre les différences de formulation qu'on observe entre les quatre conciles, pourtant fondamentalement «homodoxes»¹⁶. Les modifications observables d'un concile à l'autre, et dont on sent bien qu'elles ont posé un problème, sont justifiées par un argument secondaire, puisqu'on les rapporte à la diversité des temps, ou mieux, à la diversité des hérésies : les conciles «ont été réunis par inspiration divine en des temps et des lieux différents contre les multiples ramifications des erreurs hérétiques»¹⁷. Comme on le voit, la multiplicité est du côté de l'hérésie; quant à la vérité, une, elle ne s'exprime différemment que pour mieux répondre à l'erreur multiple.

Cette argumentation n'est pas neuve. Elle revient en somme à une distinction classique selon laquelle Chalcédoine ne propose pas une nouvelle définition de la foi, mais explicite la foi de Nicée. Le second point que je veux souligner est sans doute plus original. De la foi traditionnelle, nous dit-on, les moines de Palestine sont les dépositaires privilégiés parce qu'ils habitent les Lieux saints et qu'ils sont des Hiérosolymites¹⁸. Dans leur pétition, les moines se réfèrent à Isaïe — «De Sion doit sortir la loi et de Jérusalem la parole du Seigneur» — et affirment que la présence physique des lieux de l'Incarnation répond de l'orthodoxie christologique de ceux qui les habitent : «Les habitants de Jérusalem touchent pour ainsi dire de leurs mains la vérité chaque jour par le moyen des lieux vénérables où s'est accompli le mystère de l'Incarnation»¹⁹.

Avec la pétition de 518, nous trouvons donc, bien au-delà de l'affirmation d'une orthodoxie ponctuelle, à la fois une compréhension élaborée de l'identité de la foi traditionnelle sous la diversité des formulations et la claire affirmation que les moines de Palestine, détenteurs des Lieux saints, sont les champions naturels de cette foi : «Du mystère ... du

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 153-154. Un argument semblable, mais sous une forme atténuée, se trouve dans une lettre adressée par le pape Léon au patriarche Juvénal (CPG 9070 = ACO II, 4, p. 92).

¹⁹ Cyrille de Scyth., *V. Sab.*, p. 154 (trad. Festugière, *Moines d'Orient*, III, 2, p. 83); la référence est Is. 2, 3.

Christ, qui s'est déroulé ici, ... nous autres, tous les habitants de cette terre sainte, nous avons reçu en tradition, dès le commencement et le principe, par le canal des bienheureux et saints apôtres, la véridique ... confession et créance, nous l'avons maintenue invulnérable et inviolable dans le Christ par la grâce de Dieu, nous la maintiendrons toujours ... sans nous laisser "ballotter à tout vent de doctrine, jouets de l'astuce des hommes" (*Eph.* 4, 14)²⁰.» On voit quelle est la conception que les moines de Palestine, au VI^e siècle, ont et donnent de leur Église et d'eux-mêmes : gardiens des Lieux saints de l'incarnation, ils ont su conserver une fidélité constante à une orthodoxie elle-même conçue comme une constante. L'histoire ne leur est guère favorable, ainsi que nous l'avons remarqué. Présent et passé s'opposent. Il faut donc reconstruire le passé ou du moins son image, et, dans la mesure où les textes hagiographiques sont, pour les moines, les dépositaires privilégiés de leur mémoire, c'est sur ces textes que le travail qui vise à faire coïncider histoire et tradition est le plus sensible.

HAGIOGRAPHIE MONOPHYSITE EN PALESTINE

Dans l'obligation où ils sont, à l'époque de Justinien, de se constituer un passé orthodoxe, les moines vont se trouver devant plusieurs difficultés dont l'une des plus notables est que leur histoire récente n'a pas été sans laisser des traces écrites. Le hiatus que j'ai signalé pour commencer, entre la *Vie de Mélanie* et les œuvres de Théodore de Pétra ou de Cyrille de Scythopolis, est en effet comblé en partie, comme nous l'avons dit, par un corpus de textes disparus du grec, mais qui sont conservés dans d'autres langues et qui donnent du V^e siècle en Palestine une image où les moines chalcédoniens ne peuvent guère se reconnaître.

Ce corpus, dont il faut déterminer plus précisément le statut, a été composé entre 490 et 515 par deux auteurs dont l'un, Jean Rufus, est un scholastique originaire sans doute de la province d'Arabie²¹. Devenu

²⁰ Ibid., p. 153 (trad. Festugière, *Moines d'Orient*, III, 2, p. 82).

²¹ Sur Jean Rufus, voir CPG 7505-7507. L'article de J.-M. Sauget et T. Orlandi («Jean de Maïouma ou Jean Rufus», dans A. Bernardi, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du christianisme ancien*, adaptation française sous la direction de F. Vial [Paris, 1990], p. 1312-1313) ne dispense nullement de recourir à la littérature antérieure. En particulier, l'affirmation selon laquelle «c'est à tort que l'on a attribué à Jean la *Vie de Pierre l'ibère*» est surprenante : voir E. Schwartz, *Iohannes Rufus, ein monophysitischer Schriftsteller*, Sitzungsber. der Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse 1912, Abh. 16. Que Jean soit originaire d'Arabie est attesté par les *Plérôphories*, c. XXII (PO 8, p. 50), où Jean parle de «ceux d'Arabie, à savoir mes proches et mes congénères.» Je prépare actuellement l'édition traduite et commentée de la *Vie de Pierre l'ibère* : cf. *École*

prêtre à Antioche sous Pierre Monge, soucieux de ne pas se compromettre avec le patriarche chalcédonien Calandion, il quitte bientôt la Syrie et se réfugie dans la Ville sainte où il se consacre à la vie monastique dans l'entourage de Pierre l'Ibère²², qui est son grand personnage. C'est à ce prince géorgien, devenu moine à Jérusalem au monastère que dirigeait le successeur de Mélanie la Jeune, Gérontios, puis établi comme évêque de Maïouma de Gaza par Théodose de Jérusalem, que Jean Rufus consacre une longue Vie, écrite après la mort de Pierre en 491, alors que Jean a pris la succession de Pierre sur le siège de Maïouma. Dans l'autre œuvre majeure de Jean, les *Plérôphories*, c'est-à-dire les «révélationes faites aux saints», composées peu après le début du patriarcat de Sévère d'Antioche en 512²³, Pierre joue encore un rôle central. Quant à la troisième œuvre de Jean Rufus qui nous est conservée, c'est une courte note sur Théodose de Jérusalem, le patriarche monophysite intrus qui siège dans la Ville sainte en 451-452; elle est suivie d'une notice sur Romanos, l'un des moines les plus importants du parti anti-chalcédonien en Palestine²⁴.

Le second auteur, Zacharie le Scholastique²⁵, est un avocat originaire de Gaza et actif à Constantinople. Son œuvre est abondante et diverse, puisqu'on lui doit une *Histoire ecclésiastique*, deux opuscules contre les Manichéens, un dialogue *Sur la création du monde* — *Ammonios* —, et enfin les quatre œuvres à caractère hagiographique qui nous intéressent ici : un long dialogue apologétique consacré au patriarche Sévère d'Antioche, à dater de 512²⁶; trois vies plus modestes, écrites sans doute, au moins sous une première forme, dans les années 491-492, dont l'une, celle de Théodore d'Antinoë, est aujourd'hui perdue, tandis qu'il ne nous reste qu'une page de la seconde, consacrée à Pierre l'Ibère, seule la troisième, la *Vie d'Isaïe de Gaza*, nous étant parvenue²⁷.

pratique des hautes études. Section des sciences religieuses. Annuaire, t. 100 (1991-1992), p. 365-369.

²² Jean Rufus, *Plérôphories*, PO 8, p. 47-48.

²³ Ibid., chap. XXIII, PO 8, p. 56.

²⁴ CPG 7506; cette œuvre est annoncée par Jean Rufus dans la *Vie de Pierre l'Ibère*, éd. Raabe, p. 62.

²⁵ Sur Zacharie le Scholastique, v. CPG 6995-7001 et J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, t. 2 (Cambridge, 1980), s.v. Zacharias (the Rhetor) 4.

²⁶ CPG 6999; l'œuvre est composée pour défendre Sévère peu après que celui-ci a été nommé patriarche d'Antioche.

²⁷ CPG 7000.

Le premier point à noter, pour les œuvres de ces deux auteurs, c'est que nous avons affaire à une littérature savante. La *Vie de Pierre l'ibère* par Jean Rufus, ou la *Vie de Sévère d'Antioche* par Zacharie — une œuvre en fait aux marges de l'hagiographie²⁸ — impressionnent par leur ampleur et par une qualité qui doit être rapportée à la culture de ces écrivains. Sur ce point, le dossier le plus riche, et qui fournit le point d'observation le plus commode, est celui de Zacharie.

Zacharie, originaire de Gaza, où il avait l'occasion de fréquenter des cercles fort savants, nous apprend qu'il avait fait ses études supérieures dans les années 480 à Alexandrie la Grande. C'est là qu'il suit les leçons du rhéteur Sôpatros, en même temps que Sévère, le futur patriarche d'Antioche²⁹. Il est très vraisemblable que Zacharie, qui se prépare à l'étude du droit, ne s'est pas contenté de la rhétorique grecque, mais qu'il a suivi un enseignement de rhétorique latine : c'est ce que fait Sévère, et l'un de leurs camarades sera plus tard professeur de latin à Constantinople³⁰. Surtout, il s'est initié à la philosophie auprès d'Ammonios fils d'Hermias, lui-même disciple de Proclus³¹. C'est contre Ammonios que Zacharie, quelques années plus tard, polémique dans son *Dialogue sur la création du monde*, où il met en scène également le principal disciple d'Ammonios à cette époque, le iatrosophiste Gessios³². Zacharie était dès cette époque un chrétien militant; mais nous voyons qu'il fut en contact avec ce que le monde païen comptait de plus savant.

Après ces belles études, Zacharie quitte Alexandrie pour Beyrouth où il se forme pendant quatre années au droit, auprès du juriste Léontios, fils d'Eudoxios³³. C'est là aussi qu'il retrouve Sévère, qui l'avait précédé d'une année, et qu'il compose les vies de Théodore, de Pierre, d'Isaïe.

Alexandrie pour la rhétorique et la philosophie, Beyrouth pour le droit. Il faut dire encore un mot sur la patrie de Zacharie, Gaza, où il dut faire ses premières études. On sait que cette cité s'est illustrée aux V^e et VI^e siècles par son école de rhétorique : les noms d'Énée ou de

²⁸ À l'origine, la *Vie de Sévère* est une apologie, qui a un fort caractère biographique, mais qui ne célèbre nullement la mémoire d'un saint (Sévère est du reste vivant quand Zacharie écrit cette œuvre); ce n'est qu'ultérieurement que le texte est joint au dossier hagiographique de Sévère.

²⁹ Zacharie, *V. Sev.*, p. 12.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 37.

³¹ Ibid., p. 23 (pour le nom du professeur de Zacharie, voir Maria Minniti Colonna, *Zacaria Scolastico. Ammonio* [Naples, 1973], p. 23).

³² CPG 6996.

³³ *V. Sev.*, p. 47.

Procopé, de Chorikios aussi, qui est plus tardif, sont assez connus pour qu'il soit inutile d'insister. Il suffit de montrer que Zacharie était bien en contact avec ce milieu, et c'est là chose aisée, puisque nous le voyons portant à Beyrouth une lettre d'Énée, qu'il appelle «le grand et savant sophiste chrétien de la ville de Gaza³⁴».

Par ailleurs, l'examen des œuvres de Zacharie révèle l'étendue de ses lectures, païennes ou chrétiennes. L'éditrice du *Dialogue sur la création du monde*, Maria Minniti Colonna, en a dressé, pour cette œuvre, un inventaire : Platon, avec le *Timée*, le *Phédon*, à un moindre degré *Euthyphron*, *Protagoras*, *Cratyle*, le *Banquet*, le *Théétète*, ou encore le *Gorgias*, qui sert de modèle littéraire; Aristote, plus discrètement; Proclus et Ammonios, bien sûr; mais aussi Philon d'Alexandrie, les Cappadociens, Némésius, Théodoret, Énée de Gaza et son *Théophraste*³⁵.

Cette énumération fait apparaître, aux côtés des auteurs profanes, une liste abondante de Pères de l'Église et nous savons, par Zacharie lui-même, que sa bibliothèque personnelle contenait en effet des œuvres patristiques. À Alexandrie, nous le voyons opposer les œuvres de Basile et des Grégoire à celles de Libanios, que préférerait Sévère³⁶, et à Beyrouth, celui-ci s'enquiert des livres qu'avait apportés son ami : «Sévère me demanda si j'avais avec moi des livres du grand Basile, des illustres Grégoire et des autres docteurs. Je lui répondis que j'apportais beaucoup de leurs écrits³⁷.» Et nous voyons ces deux étudiants organiser leurs lectures. Si, pendant cinq jours et demi de la semaine, ils réservent leurs efforts au droit, le samedi après-midi et le dimanche, où il n'y a pas cours, ils se retrouvent dans une église pour lire les Pères : les Apologies contre les païens tout d'abord, puis l'*Hexaemeron* de Basile; d'autres œuvres du même auteur, les trois Grégoire, Jean Chrysostome, Cyrille d'Alexandrie, Athanase aussi, dont la place exacte dans ce cycle de lectures n'est toutefois pas précisée³⁸.

Au côté de ces deux grandes masses, auteurs profanes et Pères de l'Église, il faut faire place à un troisième facteur : la culture monastique. C'est là une chose que nous pouvons observer lors du séjour de Zacharie à Alexandrie, puisque notre auteur a fait partie d'un cercle de chrétiens zélés, des *philoponoi* ou spoudées, en relation étroite avec le monastère

³⁴ V. Sev., p. 90.

³⁵ M. Minniti Colonna, *Zacharia Scolastico, Ammonio*, p. 45-55.

³⁶ V. Sev., p. 13.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 48.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 52-54.

de l'Énaton¹⁹. À Gaza aussi, Zacharie est bien sûr en contact avec les ascètes du voisinage, avec Isaïe surtout, dont il écrira la vie, et qui lui transmet la spiritualité du monachisme égyptien.

Voilà donc quelles sont les composantes de la culture de notre hagiographe : de solides connaissances profanes, une double culture chrétienne, où s'unissent le christianisme des Cappadociens et l'apport spécifique du désert égyptien. Zacharie n'est pas un cas isolé. Jean Rufus, sur lequel nous sommes moins bien renseignés, appartient lui aussi à la même catégorie sociale et suit, au moins en partie, les mêmes études. Tous deux partagent la culture d'un milieu savant, où, rappelons-le, on a plusieurs fois cherché à localiser le Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite²⁰. C'est dans ce milieu que naissent les œuvres hagiographiques qui nous occupent, et l'on voit alors quel est leur intérêt pour la définition du genre auquel elles appartiennent : elles sont le point d'observation qui permet de faire sortir l'hagiographie monastique de l'isolement où elle paraît souvent enfermée; elles sont le trait d'union entre cette hagiographie et la culture savante. Les négliger, comme on pourrait le faire parce qu'elles ont disparu de leur langue d'origine, c'est perdre de vue toute une composante de l'hagiographie à cette époque et risquer de priver ce genre de sa dignité littéraire et intellectuelle.

Zacharie et Jean Rufus mettent leur culture au service d'une cause. Si nous reprenons la liste des saints personnages qu'ils célèbrent, nous voyons en effet bien vite qu'il s'agit ici de l'état-major du parti antichalcédonien, avec les patriarches Théodose et Sévère, les évêques Théodore et Pierre, ou encore deux moines importants, Romanos et Isaïe. Par ailleurs, ces textes sont souvent des textes de combat, écrits pour plusieurs d'entre eux après que le monachisme palestinien a entrepris majoritairement de se rallier à Chalcédoine, et les œuvres de Jean Rufus, en particulier, reflètent les positions d'une minorité intransigeante : la virulence des *Plérophories*, mais aussi le caractère de la *Vie de Pierre l'Ibère*, dont le héros est présenté comme un confesseur de la foi orthodoxe persécuté par les partisans du concile, sont à cet égard caractéristiques. En ce sens, il est légitime de parler d'hagiographie monophysite, et ce terme paraît à première vue le mieux approprié. Mais il faut prendre garde à ne pas isoler et marginaliser ces textes et à bien noter

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 24.

²⁰ On a tenté successivement d'identifier le Ps.-Denys avec Sévère lui-même, ou même avec Pierre l'Ibère : cf. *CPG* 6600, et, plus récemment, M. van Eshbroeck, «Peter the Iberian and Dionysius the Areopagite», *OCP* 59 (1993), 217-227.

qu'ils sont, pour plusieurs d'entre eux, partie intégrante de l'hagiographie palestinienne.

De façon tout extérieure, on peut relever tout d'abord le lien étroit qu'entretiennent les hagiographies monophysites et leurs saints avec la Palestine : Zacharie est originaire de Gaza, même s'il est acrit à Beyrouth, puis à Constantinople; Jean Rufus, s'il vient d'Antioche, écrit en Palestine; saint Isaïe est de Gaza, Romanos gouverne un monastère à Thékoa, puis près d'Éleuthéropolis; la part la plus grande de la carrière de Pierre l'Ébère se déroule en Palestine, Théodose est évidemment lié à Jérusalem, et Sévère lui-même, moine tout d'abord au monastère de Pierre à Malouma, puis à celui de Romanos près d'Éleuthéropolis, s'établit près de Gaza avant de devenir patriarche d'Antioche⁴¹.

L'enracinement palestinien de ces textes est donc un fait bien établi. Mais cette constatation ne paraît guère suffisante, dans la mesure où la Palestine des monophysites ne coïncide pas avec celle des moines chalcédoniens du VI^e siècle. Aux premiers, le sud et la côte : Gaza, Éleuthéropolis. Aux seconds, Jérusalem et les Lieux saints, dont la possession est si importante pour la définition de ce que nous appelons le monachisme palestinien. Les vies monophysites apparaissent alors comme des textes produits dans une autre Palestine et témoignant aux côtés d'autres textes de l'importance d'un centre comme Gaza. Quant à leur rapport avec les textes hiérosolymitains du début du V^e siècle ou surtout du milieu du VI^e, il serait en fait assez distendu. Une telle vue, qui rendrait assez bien compte de certains aspects de ces textes — en particulier pour les œuvres de Zacharie —, serait insuffisante et je voudrais montrer à quel point la relation de ces vies avec les Lieux saints est étroite. Il faut, pour cela, regarder tout d'abord vers l'amont et noter les filiations qui unissent les saints monophysites à la Palestine monastique d'avant le concile.

Dans le monachisme aristocratique et urbain de Jérusalem au V^e siècle, deux groupements occupent une place importante : d'une part les fondations de saint Pasaïon, d'autre part les monastères de sainte Mélanie au Mont des Oliviers, et leurs supérieurs jouent, dans le monde monastique, un rôle dirigeant⁴². Or les moines monophysites revendiquent, non sans

⁴¹ V. *Sev.*, p. 93-94 (Sévère, après un pèlerinage à Jérusalem, devient moine au monastère de Pierre), p. 96 (dans le désert d'Éleuthéropolis, puis au monastère de Romanos); p. 97 (Sévère fonde son monastère près de Malouma de Gaza).

⁴² Voir p. xx, Cyrille de Scyth., V. *Sab.*, p. 114-115, où l'auteur montre que les successeurs de Pasaïon et de Mélanie, à commencer par Éliphios et Géraonios, ont été les archimandrites des moines de Jérusalem.

raisons, d'être leurs héritiers et se plaisent à souligner qu'ils peuvent — à la différence de leurs adversaires ? — montrer leur lignage et dire quels sont leurs ancêtres.

Voyons d'abord le cas de Passarion, qui meurt avant le concile de Chalcédoine en grande réputation de sainteté. Jean Rufus, dans son *Récit sur la mort de Théodose et de Romanos*, enregistre deux choses à son propos : sa mémoire est célébrée le 25 novembre, le même jour que celle de Romanos; Passarion a été l'archimandrite de Romanos. Or ce Romanos, auquel Jean Rufus consacre quelques pages, est, comme nous l'avons vu, le fondateur, près de Thékoa, à quinze milles au sud de Jérusalem, d'un monastère de six cents moines, puis, sur un bien de l'impératrice Eudocie près d'Éleuthéropolis, d'un second monastère qui sera un bastion monophysite. Il restera jusqu'à la fin obstiné dans son opposition à Chalcédoine. La continuité bien réelle que note Jean Rufus entre Romanos et Passarion est d'abord historique, puisque nous voyons se reconstituer, plus au sud, sous la protection d'Eudocie, un monastère en fait hiérosolymitain. Elle est également spirituelle : Romanos, disciple de Passarion, est l'héritier des charismes de celui-ci et de sa sainteté, qu'il transmet à son tour à ses fondations et à ses moines. De part et d'autre de Chalcédoine, la même sainteté se transmet et se retrouve chez les moines anti-chalcédoniens.

Le second exemple est plus connu. On sait que la plus belle production de l'hagiographie palestinienne au début du V^e siècle est la *Vie de Mélanie la Jeune*, cette grande dame romaine qui, avec son mari Pinien, après être passée par l'Afrique, vient s'établir au Mont des Oliviers où elle fonde deux monastères, et où elle meurt le 31 décembre 439. Sa vie ancienne, outre une traduction latine qui pose quelques problèmes non résolus, est conservée dans un seul manuscrit grec, où elle est anonyme, ce qui pourrait bien ne pas être accidentel. Mais depuis un siècle, cet anonymat a été levé : l'hagiographe n'est autre que le prêtre et moine Gérontios, compagnon de Mélanie et supérieur de ses monastères⁴³. Gérontios, avec ses monastères, se retrouve en 451 dans le parti anti-chalcédonien auquel il reste attaché jusqu'à la fin, refusant, comme Romanos, de souscrire à l'union de Marcien⁴⁴. Dans ce cas, les liens se multiplient : c'est Mélanie qui reçoit en 437 Pierre l'Ibère, et c'est Gérontios qui donne à celui-ci l'habit monastique. La continuité n'est plus ici simple affaire de lien spirituel entre Pierre et Mélanie ou entre Pierre et Gérontios, mais aussi de filiation littéraire et, si l'on veut suivre, dans

⁴³ L'identification remonte au P. de Smedt, *AnBoll* 8 (1889), p. 17.

⁴⁴ Cyrille de Scyth., *V. Euth.*

l'hagiographie, l'histoire du monachisme palestinien, il faut, à la suite de la *Vie de Mélanie*, lire celle de Pierre l'Îbère. On voit dans ce cas avec une particulière netteté en quel sens on peut dire de ces textes monophysites qu'ils font partie de l'hagiographie palestinienne : ils ne constituent pas une excroissance ou un à côté, mais sont dans le droit fil de ce qui est produit à Jérusalem avant le concile.

Les monophysites peuvent donc se présenter comme les héritiers légitimes des moines qui, avant Chalcédoine, ont joué un rôle de premier plan dans la Ville sainte. Mais ils sont des héritiers dépossédés. Au moment où Zacharie et Jean Rufus écrivent leurs œuvres, de part et d'autre de l'an 500, l'influence des adversaires du concile, à Jérusalem, a déjà bien décliné et la Ville sainte ou ses environs sont contrôlés par les orthodoxes. Le cas du monastère de Romanos à Éleuthéropolis, si important pour le parti monophysite, est caractéristique de ce phénomène, puisqu'il s'agit là d'une fondation due à des moines qui n'ont pu se maintenir dans le diocèse de Jérusalem et ont dû s'établir plus au sud, dans un autre évêché où ils sont tolérés.

Cet exemple montre bien la position particulière des anti-chalcédoïens : ils sont des moines chassés de la Ville sainte et les revendications qu'ils ont sur Jérusalem trouvent dans la *Vie de Pierre l'Îbère* par Jean Rufus une expression saisissante. L'arrivée de Pierre à Jérusalem, au tout début de sa carrière monastique, fait l'objet d'une des grandes pages de l'hagiographie palestinienne. Le saint, comme on le sait, s'est enfui de Constantinople où il était retenu comme otage à la cour de Théodose II. Comme Moïse et Israël sortant d'Égypte — une comparaison dont la portée ne doit pas être minimisée — il est guidé par une colonne de feu et, au terme d'un voyage tout entier placé sous la protection de Dieu et des martyrs dont il porte les reliques, il arrive en vue de Sion : «Quand donc ils furent arrivés à proximité de Jérusalem, la Ville sainte, après laquelle ils aspiraient, et qu'ils virent depuis une colline qui lui fait face, à cinq stades, briller comme le soleil levant les toits des édifices saints et adorables, celui de la Croix salvifique et adorable, de la sainte Anastasis, celui aussi de l'Ascension adorable sur le mont qui est en face d'elle, quand ils eurent crié à voix forte alors qu'ils accomplissaient cette parole du Prophète "Voilà Sion, la ville de notre salut. Tes yeux verront Jérusalem", après qu'ils eurent fait monter, selon leurs forces, des hymnes de glorification et d'action de grâce vers le Christ qu'ils aimaient, qui les avait appelés, les avait fait sortir, les avait guidés et sauvés, s'étant jetés la face contre terre, ils ne cessèrent de se prosterner depuis cette colline, ni de ramper sur leurs genoux ni de baiser cette terre sainte incessamment de leurs lèvres et de leurs yeux, comme preuve de l'amour qui brû-

lait en eux, jusqu'au moment où ils furent dans les saints murs et où ils embrassèrent la base de la croix vénérable, je veux dire le saint Golgotha, et de la sainte Anastasis, regardant et pleurant en même temps, rendant grâces, glorifiant et exultant, en gens qui, désormais, avaient atteint Jésus, qu'ils aimaient, et demeuraient désormais avec lui dans les cieux⁴⁵».

L'émotion dont est empreinte cette page, qui nous fait ressouvenir que Jean Rufus, lui aussi, a été moine à Jérusalem même, n'est pas la seule attache entre Pierre l'Ibère et la Ville sainte. La fin de la vie de Pierre, pour notre propos, est aussi importante que son début. Pierre, perpétuel exilé, passe après son retour d'Égypte une vie d'errance en Palestine, en Phénicie, en Arabie. Mais jamais il ne rentrera à Maïouma, dont il était l'évêque. Jamais non plus il ne reviendra physiquement à Jérusalem et cette particularité, qui doit correspondre à une réalité historique, a visiblement provoqué la réflexion de son biographe qui, dans un très long excursus lui aussi célèbre, va conduire son héros sur le Mont Nébo, au tombeau de Moïse⁴⁶. La référence est claire dans une œuvre où, en plusieurs endroits, Pierre est assimilé à un nouveau Moïse. Nous sommes renvoyés à la fin du Deutéronome : «Alors, partant des steppes de Moab, Moïse gravit le Mont Nébo ... et Dieu lui fit voir tout le pays ... Dieu lui dit : Voici le pays que j'ai promis par serment à Abraham, Isaac et Jacob ... Je te l'ai fait voir de tes yeux, mais tu n'y passeras pas⁴⁷» Tout comme Moïse ne franchira pas le Jourdain, Pierre l'Ibère n'entrera pas à Jérusalem, sauf pour un pèlerinage miraculeux où il visite invisiblement les Lieux saints⁴⁸. Mais la Ville sainte n'en reste pas moins, pour le peuple des «orthodoxes» dont Pierre est le conducteur, la Terre promise. Les moines monophysites ne sont pas simplement des moines de Palestine. Ils sont des Hiérosolymites en exil.

DES VIES DISPARUES DU GREC

Les moines chalcédoniens du VI^e siècle se trouvent de ce fait dans une situation délicate. Leur passé n'est pas impeccable, et les vies anti-chalcédoniennes, qui rappellent ce passé, peuvent se présenter comme héritières de la tradition hiérosolymitaine. Elles ne sont pas l'œuvre d'ennemis extérieurs, mais de frères séparés qui rappellent leurs droits.

⁴⁵ Jean Rufus, *Vie de Pierre l'Ibère*, éd. Raabe, p. 26-27.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 93-97.

⁴⁷ Deut. 34.

⁴⁸ Jean Rufus, *Vie de Pierre l'Ibère*, éd. Raabe, p. 98-100.

Il est d'autant plus nécessaire de réagir, et c'est ce qui sera fait tout d'abord en entravant la diffusion de ces textes.

La marginalisation des Vies anti-chalcédoniennes est un phénomène complexe et général, où l'action particulière des moines palestiniens n'est pas directement sensible. Pour expliquer les caractères spéciaux de l'histoire de cette littérature, j'invoquerai en effet tout d'abord deux décisions officielles. La première est un décret du patriarche Ménas, contre-signé par les évêques réunis en concile à Constantinople en 536, sous le règne de Justinien. Ce concile, qui condamne Sévère d'Antioche et ses partisans, s'en prend aussi à leurs écrits dans les termes que voici : « Nous frappons du même anathème Sévère ..., tous ceux qui célèbrent irrégulièrement des réunions liturgiques et des baptêmes, ainsi que tous leurs écrits, parce qu'ils recèlent en eux le poison du serpent, père du mal, et qu'ils l'instillent dans les âmes des simples⁴⁹. » Désormais donc, la littérature monophysite est frappée d'interdit par une instance officielle, et cette décision patriarcale et conciliaire est reprise par une constitution impériale. Il s'agit de la nouvelle 42, en date du 6 août 536. Les sentences du concile sont confirmées. La détention des œuvres de Sévère est interdite. Les livres qui les contiennent doivent être brûlés. Les tachygraphes ou calligraphes qui copieraient ces œuvres auront la main coupée. Pour les œuvres des partisans de Sévère, la nouvelle prête à interprétation : mais, puisque l'empereur ratifie toutes les décisions conciliaires, il semble que les mêmes mesures leur soient applicables à elles aussi⁵⁰.

Voilà donc la base légale qui aide à comprendre la disparition des œuvres sévériennes. Le problème est de savoir comment ces décisions sont appliquées et, pour trouver quelques indices positifs, il faut aller sur le terrain. Il est difficile de pénétrer dans l'histoire des bibliothèques monophysites, mais, à titre d'illustration, je proposerai un exemple valable pour le patriarcat d'Antioche. Je l'emprunte à Jean d'Éphèse qui, écrivant vers 566-568, consacre une notice à un certain Thomas l'Arménien, un puissant seigneur, fils du satrape de Bélabitène, la dernière des cinq satrapies héréditaires que Justinien réunit en 536 pour former la province d'Arménie quatrième⁵¹.

⁴⁹ ACO III, p. 113 (cf. CPG 9329.10).

⁵⁰ ACO III, p. 121 (cf. CPG 9330 = 6877).

⁵¹ Jean d'Éphèse, *Vies des saints orientaux* XXI (éd. E. W. Brooks, PO 17.1 [Paris, 1923], p. 283-298); sur la date de la rédaction des *Vies des saints orientaux*, voir Brooks, op. cit., p. VII.

Ce Thomas l'Arménien, élevé à grands frais⁵², à la mort de son père, renonce aux vanités du monde et se consacre à la vie monastique. Il fonde sur ses terres deux monastères, pour lui et pour sa femme. Nous sommes douze années avant qu'Éphrem ne persécute les monophysites, c'est à dire vers 524. Se pose alors le problème de la constitution d'une bibliothèque, et voici le récit que fait Jean : «Cet homme béni (il s'agit de Thomas), parce qu'il avait l'habitude de consacrer beaucoup de temps aux activités de lecture, conçut le désir d'obtenir certains livres des Pères. En conséquence, il fit un voyage à Alexandrie la Grande avec trois compagnons. Il entra en relations avec les saints évêques qui, du fait de la persécution, s'étaient réfugiés là avec d'autres ... Il acheta un grand nombre de grands livres de tous les Pères, tout ce qu'il put trouver et acheter, à peu près cinq grandes charges. De même, il acheta pour cent dinars de parfums à Édesse. Et il s'en retourna ... Désormais, il passa constamment ses jours et ses nuits ... à lire les livres des Pères qui contiennent des commentaires, des exhortations, des traités dogmatiques, de telle sorte que son esprit en fut tout illuminé⁵³.» Cette bibliothèque, constituée, comme il semble bien, de livres grecs achetés à Alexandrie, ne reste pas longtemps à sa place. En 537, à la suite du concile de Constantinople, le patriarche orthodoxe d'Antioche Éphrem entame une campagne énergique afin de réprimer l'activité des monophysites. Thomas se voit sommé de choisir : ou bien il se ralliera à Chalcédoine, ou bien il quittera le pays. C'est ce dernier parti qu'il adopte, et il se réfugie avec ses moines dans les hautes montagnes du district de Claudias, dominant l'Euphrate⁵⁴.

L'histoire est instructive à deux titres. Nous voyons tout d'abord comment, avant 536, un adversaire de Chalcédoine peut se constituer une bibliothèque : il semble que les villes les plus proches, comme Antioche, ou bien Édesse, ne suffisent pas aux besoins de Thomas, qui doit aller jusqu'à Alexandrie pour trouver les manuscrits qu'il cherche. Sans doute la production des livres, dans le patriarcat d'Antioche, était-elle déjà sous contrôle orthodoxe. Deuxièmement, après 536, la répression s'accroît sensiblement sous la direction du patriarche Éphrem. Thomas et ses moines doivent quitter leur pays et se réfugier dans les montagnes, avec leurs livres sans doute, puisque c'est dans ces montagnes que Jean

⁵² Je cite Jean d'Éphèse (éd. Brooks, p. 284) : «Son père prit grand soin de lui donner la meilleure formation possible dans la science des Grecs, et il l'envoya à Beyrouth, à Antioche et dans d'autres places.»

⁵³ Ibid., p. 293.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 293-296.

d'Éphèse a fait la connaissance de Thomas : or il parle de sa bibliothèque avec une évidente gourmandise et ne mentionne pas sa destruction.

L'histoire de Thomas montre bien à quels tracasseries les monophysites, forcés de se réfugier dans des districts éloignés et montagneux, ont pu être soumis. Mais on prendra garde qu'il s'agit d'une situation locale et momentanée. Ailleurs, par exemple à Alexandrie, la situation est bien différente. On se gardera aussi d'imaginer que les monophysites, repoussés dans les montagnes, sont coupés du monde civilisé : la fin de l'histoire de Thomas nous montre que celui-ci fut enterré à Constantinople, non loin du palais impérial de Saint-Mamas⁵⁵, et rappelle ainsi clairement que le parti monophysite a ses points d'appui et qu'il a su organiser ses filières et ses lieux de refuge.

Nous ne connaissons pas le contenu de la bibliothèque de Thomas. Un second document va nous fournir un exemple précis sur la circulation des vies palestiniennes. Il s'agit d'un papyrus de Leyde, publié récemment, et contenant l'inventaire des biens meubles d'une église d'Égypte⁵⁶. Ce document, écrit en grec, et datable des VII^e-VIII^e siècles, mentionne 45 livres contenant l'Écriture sainte, des œuvres des Pères antérieurs au concile de Chalcédoine, enfin, un peu d'hagiographie. À la ligne quarante-trois, l'éditeur propose de lire ceci : βιβλίον ἔχον τὸν βίον τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου Ἰβηρος, καινούργιον. C'est-à-dire : «Un livre neuf, qui contient la Vie de Pierre l'Ibère.»

Les questions que pose ce document sont nombreuses. La leçon Ἰβηρος est une restitution de l'éditeur. L'expression βίον τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου Ἰβηρος paraît curieuse, et l'on préférerait Πέτρου τοῦ Ἰβηρος. Contre l'identification proposée par l'auteur, on peut encore faire valoir que cette œuvre est isolée dans une bibliothèque qui ne contient aucun texte postérieur à Chalcédoine. Cependant, il faut bien proposer une solution qui tienne compte non seulement de la lecture, mais aussi d'un fait important : cette «Vie de saint Pierre I <...>» occupe tout un codex. Il s'agit donc d'une œuvre longue et, en effet, la *Vie de Pierre l'Ibère* par Jean Rufus semble seule répondre aux données du problème.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 298 : Thomas, après être venu dans la ville impériale, est enterré «à notre monastère près de Saint-Mamas»; cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1964), p. 473-474.

⁵⁶ F. A. J. Hoogendijk - P. van Minnen, *Papyri, ostraca, parchments and waxed tablets in the Leiden Papyrologieal Institute* [P. L. Bat. 25] (Leiden - New York, 1991), n° 13, p. 40-77.

Reste la question de la langue. Dans l'inventaire, les manuscrits sont distribués en plusieurs sections dont seule la première spécifie en quelle langue sont écrits les livres : nous y trouvons un psautier bilingue, sans aucun doute copte-grec; un Praxapostolos en grec; un volume avec une *Vie de sainte Macrine*, en grec. Pour les autres sections, la langue n'est pas précisée. On pourra bien sûr songer au copte. Mais trois faits s'opposent à cela : premièrement, aucune œuvre rédigée seulement en copte n'est mentionnée par le document; deuxièmement, pour plusieurs œuvres signalées, nous n'avons pas connaissance d'une traduction copte; troisièmement, le fait que l'inventaire lui-même soit rédigé en grec implique que cette langue était encore en usage dans l'église d'où provient le document. Comme on le voit, des hésitations sont permises, mais il est possible que nous ayons ici la trace d'un manuscrit grec de la *Vie de Pierre l'Ibère*, exécuté en Égypte aux alentours de l'an 700.

Que la circulation des œuvres monophysites se soit poursuivie, en grec, malgré les interdits et les persécutions, jusqu'à la conquête arabe et au-delà, est en tout cas une chose avérée : Évagre le Scholastique, à Antioche, à la fin du sixième siècle, est en mesure de citer l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Zacharie le Scholastique qu'il lit en grec, ainsi, peut-être, qu'une *Vie de Pierre l'Ibère*⁵⁷. La diffusion de tels écrits a certainement été entravée par la répression orthodoxe; mais elle n'a pas été stoppée. Il faut, pour expliquer comment ces œuvres, en particulier les vies palestiniennes, ont pu disparaître du domaine grec, invoquer un phénomène d'une autre nature que la censure officielle : l'extinction d'un milieu, celui des monophysites de langue grecque, qui ne semble pas avoir survécu aux siècles obscurs.

En même temps qu'elles circulaient en grec malgré les menaces, les œuvres monophysites étaient traduites dans d'autres langues. Le patriarchat d'Égypte, celui d'Antioche aussi, ou celui de Jérusalem, disposent en effet de plusieurs langues de culture : grec et copte pour l'Égypte; grec et syriaque pour la Syrie.

Le copte ne nous fournit guère que deux documents. Il s'agit tout d'abord d'un ostrakon qui contient une liste d'objets et de livres, parmi lesquels : «Les *Plérphories* d'abbâ Pierre l'Ibère», c'est-à-dire les *Plé-*

⁵⁷ Évagre le Scholastique utilise plusieurs fois Zacharie (cf. J. Bidez - L. Parmentier, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius* [Londres, 1898], index, p. 249); en *HE* III, 5 (éd. Bidez - Parmentier, p. 105), il le cite «littéralement». Pour la *Vie de Pierre l'Ibère*, voir J. Bidez - L. Parmentier, op. cit., p. 255.

rophories de Jean Rufus⁵⁸. Il s'agit ensuite de fragments coptes des mêmes *Plérrophories*⁵⁹. Je n'ai pas trouvé trace d'autres traductions coptes des œuvres qui m'intéressent : pourtant, le personnage de Pierre l'Ibère semble avoir joui d'un assez grand prestige dans l'Église égyptienne, au point d'être passé dans d'autres œuvres hagiographiques⁶⁰.

En syriaque, la documentation est d'une autre abondance, et l'on peut dire que c'est à cette langue que nous devons d'avoir conservé ce corpus. Les manuscrits, peu nombreux, s'échelonnent du VIII^e au XII^e siècles : deux pour les *Plérrophories*⁶¹, plus la Chronique de Michel le Syrien, qui recopie l'essentiel de cette œuvre et la fait passer en arménien; deux pour les autres vies⁶². Une transmission bien fragile, donc, et telle mutilation d'un témoin nous prive de la *Vie de Pierre* par Zacharie⁶³. Toutefois, l'un des manuscrits est un ménologe, ce qui montre bien que les vies palestiniennes avaient pénétré dans l'usage liturgique de l'Église jacobite. Il est donc possible que le peu qui nous reste reflète une tradition plus large.

Peut-on dater ces traductions ? Aucun des traducteurs syriaques n'a laissé là sa signature, et nous sommes obligés de procéder indirectement pour nous orienter dans un monde où les centres de traduction et les traducteurs sont relativement nombreux. Le cas le plus net est celui des *Plérrophories*. Écrites vers 515, dans la région de Gaza, leur traduction syriaque semble avoir été employée déjà par Jean d'Éphèse avant 572. Voilà donc une première indication pour l'un de ces textes : entre 515 et 572. Deuxième indice, plus lointain : il s'agit ici de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Zacharie, écrite en grec vers 500 et conservée par une compilation syriaque datant de 569. Nous retrouvons donc la même date que pour les *Plérrophories* et les techniques de traduction employées par exemple pour la *Vie de Pierre l'Ibère*⁶⁴ incitent à considérer que l'ensemble de ces textes fut traduit au VI^e siècle.

⁵⁸ W. E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum and Others* (Londres, 1902), n° 459.

⁵⁹ Voir T. Orlandi, *Koptische Papyri theologischen Inhalts* (Vienne, 1974), p. 110-120.

⁶⁰ Voir BHO 397 (*Passio et translatio s. Iacobi Intercisi*, éd. O. von Lemm, «Iberica», *Mémoires de l'Acad. de Saint-Petersbourg*, 8^e sér., VII, 6 [1906], p. 3-8).

⁶¹ Londres, add. 14650 (a. 875); add. 14631 (s. X).

⁶² Berlin, Sachau 321 (a. 741); Londres, add. 12174 (a. 1197).

⁶³ Voir E. W. Brooks, *Vitae virorum apud monophysitas celeberrimorum* [CSCO Scriptores Syri, 7], p. 17-18.

⁶⁴ Bien des phrases sont inintelligibles dans la langue syriaque, dont elles bousculent la syntaxe et il faut, comme Eduard Schwartz l'avait déjà noté en 1912 (cf. n. 21), procé-

On voit quelle est l'histoire qui se dessine. Les textes hagiographiques dont il est question, chassés du grec, ont résisté quelque temps, assez longtemps pour être connus et pour susciter, en grec, des imitateurs ou des rivaux. En même temps, des traductions coptes et syriaques, à dater du sixième siècle, assuraient la diffusion auprès d'autre publics. Le temps vient alors faire son œuvre. Le grec, à partir des siècles obscurs, n'est plus que la langue de l'orthodoxie et des églises melkites. Les textes monophysites grecs s'éteignent en même temps que le milieu qui les portait. Au contraire, les églises monophysites syrienne et égyptienne, en terre d'Islam, restent vigoureuses et conservent les traductions élaborées dans l'Empire au VI^e siècle.

LA TRADITION CHALCÉDONIENNE

À l'époque de Justinien, les textes monophysites, qui conservent du passé une image que les moines de Jérusalem cherchent à oublier, sont certes marginalisés, mais circulent encore. Il convient de leur opposer une hagiographie d'un poids égal, mais chalcédonienne cette fois, et qui fasse apparaître que la tradition orthodoxe ne s'était jamais interrompue, même si elle avait été parfois minoritaire.

La *Vie de Théodose* par Théodore de Pétra ne répond que partiellement à cette exigence. Œuvre savante, certes, elle se concentre sur un saint qui, dans l'affirmation de l'orthodoxie chalcédonienne en Palestine, joue un rôle important; mais les luttes de Théodose pour la foi n'occupent qu'un espace chronologique assez réduit. La section que Théodore de Pétra leur consacre ne couvre en effet que le règne d'Anastase⁶⁵, amputé même de ses premières années. C'est dire qu'elle se concentre sur le patriarcat d'Hélias (494-516) et laisse de côté les quarante années qui ont suivi le concile de Chalcédoine.

Pour une tentative plus audacieuse, où cette fois l'ensemble du V^e siècle est pris en compte dans une reconstruction du passé, il faut attendre les années 550 et les *Monachikai historiai* de Cyrille, dont l'axe central, constitué par les deux grandes vies d'Euthyme et de Sabas, couvre l'histoire des moines de Jérusalem depuis le tout début du V^e siècle jusqu'à la mort de Sabas en 536 et au-delà. Pour le propos qui nous occupe, c'est la *Vie d'Euthyme* qu'il faut examiner avec quelque

der à une rétroversion en grec pour découvrir le sens. Cependant, on ne note pas la tendance qui se fera jour plus tard, au VII^e siècle, à pousser le scrupule jusqu'à rendre par un mot syriaque chacune des parties des mots grecs composés.

⁶⁵ Les luttes de Théodose pour l'orthodoxie sont cantonnées au règne d'Anastase : éd. Usener, p. 54-69.

détail puisque c'est elle qui traite des années les plus tumultueuses et les plus délicates. Euthyme, en effet, arrive à Jérusalem en 403 et meurt en 473, avant même le ralliement provoqué par Marcien.

L'orthodoxie chalcédonienne d'Euthyme, bien sûr, est affirmée haut et clair, dès l'époque de Chalcédoine, tout d'abord dans une déclaration de portée générale où Cyrille nous dit qu'Euthyme avait su se garantir contre toutes les hérésies et préserver la pureté de sa foi en «l'unique hypostase composée de deux natures⁶⁶». Vient ensuite un long passage narratif où nous voyons Euthyme accepter sans tarder la définition de Chalcédoine qui lui est apportée par deux de ses disciples devenus évêques, puis la défendre «seul du désert⁶⁷» contre les envoyés de l'usurpateur Théodose, les archimandrites des moines Elpidios et Gérontios, dont il triomphe lors d'une discussion théologique.

Bien que le passage, pour l'essentiel, soit imité d'un texte anonyme où le même rôle d'unique défenseur de Chalcédoine est dévolu à abbâ Gélase⁶⁸ et non à Euthyme, il n'est pas nécessaire pour autant de suspecter l'orthodoxie de ce dernier. Mais il faut noter comment Cyrille, à cent ans de distance, décrit l'histoire des moines de Palestine comme marquée par une série de ralliements à Euthyme : celui d'Elpidios tout d'abord, puis de Gerasime, puis d'Eudocie⁶⁹, dont l'exemple est suivi «par une foule de laïques et de moines qui avaient été égarés par Théodose». Vient enfin, après la mort d'Euthyme, le ralliement de Marcien et des apschistes, qu'Euthyme apparu au diacre Fidus avait prophétisé⁷⁰.

Chacun de ces événements, qui jalonnent pour Cyrille le progrès irrésistible de l'orthodoxie parmi les moines, est en fait problématique. Elpidios, convaincu par Euthyme, «ne se sépara pas aussitôt de Théodose⁷¹». Eudocie, comme on le sait par ailleurs, ne cesse pas de protéger les monophysites les plus durs et, si elle entre en communion avec Juvénal dans les dernières années de celui-ci, c'est à Anastase qu'elle laissera sa fortune, c'est-à-dire à un patriarche de Jérusalem dont la mémoire est si suspecte aux yeux des orthodoxes que Cyrille nous montre Euthyme refusant de le recevoir⁷². Surtout, nous savons par d'autres documents ce

⁶⁶ Cyrille de Scyth., *V.Euth.*, éd. Schwartz, p. 39-41.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 41-45.

⁶⁸ B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire*, p. 60-63.

⁶⁹ Cyrille de Scyth., *V.Euth.*, éd. Schwartz, p. 44 (Elpidios), 44-45 (Gerasime et d'autres anachorètes), 47-49 (Eudocie).

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 63-64 (apparition d'Euthyme à Fidus); 66-67 (union de Marcien).

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 44.

⁷² Ibid., p. 51-52.

que fut le ralliement de Marcien et des moines qu'il entraîna. Il s'agit certes de la fin d'un schisme, mais la formule d'union exclut Chalcédoine beaucoup plus qu'elle ne l'intègre. On voit nettement quel est le gauchissement dont est empreinte la *Vie d'Euthyme* : l'évolution vers des positions hénociennes est décrite comme un ralliement à Chalcédoine. C'est à ce prix que le monachisme de l'époque justinienne peut se reconnaître dans son passé.

Encore faut-il remarquer que les fils de ce passé ne se renouent pas si étroitement que les moines orthodoxes puissent se sentir pleinement les héritiers de leurs prédécesseurs du début du V^e siècle. L'œuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis enregistre au contraire une discontinuité, et les saints dont il parle, pour la plupart, s'empressant de quitter la Ville sainte pour le désert⁷³, rompent avec ce qui était, au V^e siècle, le centre principal de la vie monastique. La *Vie d'Euthyme* permet de décrire la façon dont les moines de Jérusalem, au VI^e siècle, construisent leur généalogie. Euthyme, arrivé pourtant à Jérusalem en 403, c'est-à-dire à une époque où les luttes christologiques ne se sont pas encore enflammées, ne s'arrête pas dans la Ville sainte. Il est tout de suite moine à la laure de Pharan, et, même là, son hagiographe, loin de revendiquer pour son héros l'héritage de saint Chariton, nous le montre en marge d'une laure qu'il ne tarde pas à quitter⁷⁴. Le personnage d'Euthyme n'est pas construit en continuité avec une tradition palestinienne antérieure. Il est le point de départ de ce qui, pour Cyrille et les siens, constitue la véritable tradition du monachisme palestinien. Et s'il subit des influences, elles sont extérieures. Son orthodoxie lui vient de Mélitène et des clercs qui ont veillé sur son éducation⁷⁵. Quant à ses pratiques monastiques, plutôt que comme résultant d'une tradition locale, elles nous sont présentées comme l'imitation fidèle des exercices d'Arsène le Grand, le contemporain égyptien d'Euthyme⁷⁶. En insistant sur cette filiation spirituelle, qui n'est du

⁷³ Par ex., Jean l'Hésychaste, à la fin du règne de Zénon, arrive à la Ville sainte et s'installe à l'hospice Saint-Georges fondé par Eudocie; mais il quitte vite cet endroit pour le désert (Cyrille de Scyth., éd. Schwartz, p. 204-205); Cyriaque, qui arrive à Jérusalem en 466-467, s'installe au monastère d'Eustorge à la Sainte-Sion, mais il le quitte et va trouver Euthyme, qui l'envoie à Gerasime (éd. Schwartz, p. 224).

⁷⁴ Cyrille de Scyth., *V.Euth.*, éd. Schwartz, p. 14. Quand Euthyme fonde son premier monastère, il voudrait faire une laure «sur le modèle de Pharan» (*V.Euth.*, p. 16-17), mais il ne le peut pas.

⁷⁵ *V.Euth.*, p. 11-12.

⁷⁶ Voir en particulier *V.Euth.*, p. 34. L'influence d'Arsène sur Euthyme est telle que, pour composer le portrait de son héros, Cyrille démarque le portrait d'Arsène qu'il trouve dans les *Apophthegmata Patrum* : voir B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire*, p. 56-57.

reste pas sans vraisemblance⁷⁷, Cyrille fait coup double : aux origines de la tradition monastique à laquelle il consacre son œuvre se trouvent, non pas tel monastère compromis dans les luttes autour de Chalcédoine, mais les saints moines d'Égypte; l'héritage des ascètes égyptiens passe à la Palestine orthodoxe, et ne reste pas dans l'Égypte devenue monophysite après Chalcédoine. Les conséquences de cette construction ne sont pas négligeables. Non seulement les vies monophysites sont désormais masquées, mais la littérature monastique de l'époque justinienne, perdant ses liens avec les textes du V^e siècle, paraît désormais comme une floraison isolée.

L'hagiographie monastique de la Palestine, pour le V^e et le VI^e siècle, demande au contraire, pour être intelligible, à être envisagée dans son intégrité, c'est-à-dire en mettant à leur place légitime les vies monophysites. Elle apparaît alors comme un ensemble imposant, marqué par une succession d'œuvres de qualité : *Vie de Mélanie* par Gêrontios, *Vie de Pierre l'Ibère* par Jean Rufus, *Monachikai historiai* de Cyrille, dont l'isolement est ainsi au moins fort atténué. Ces œuvres, si elles appartiennent à une même histoire littéraire, ne reflètent cependant pas une continuité. Les *Monachikai historiai* ne prennent pas la suite des œuvres monophysites. Elles sont en réaction contre elles et les font oublier en privilégiant une tradition orthodoxe au détriment d'une histoire qu'il a fallu effacer, puis récrire.

⁷⁷ Euthyme, sur ce point, ne fait pas exception par rapport aux moines de sa génération : Mélanie la Jeune fait un voyage en Égypte (*Vie de sainte Mélanie*, éd. Gorce, p. 196-202); Pierre l'Ibère est le disciple d'abbâ Zénon, disciple lui-même de Silvain.

FAMILY CULTS IN BYZANTIUM:
THE CASE OF ST THEODORA OF THESSALONIKE

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Lennart Rydén's studies of saints' Lives of the middle Byzantine period have added greatly to our appreciation of medieval Greek hagiography. He would be the first, however, to acknowledge that much work remains to be done on such topics as the process of sanctification in Byzantium. Although hundreds of new saints came to be recognized and venerated during the eleven centuries between 330 and 1453, the procedure whereby an individual became a saint is still poorly understood. No official canonization of saints was established by the Orthodox Church until the Palaeologan period,¹ and there is little information on how certain pious and ascetic men and women came to be regarded as holy and attract popular veneration. As Evelyne Patlagean observed some years ago, the hagiographic compositions on St Theodora of Thessalonike are of exceptional interest on account of their detailed description of the development of the cult of a local Byzantine saint, in this case in the city of Thessalonike.² Building on the groundwork laid down by Mme. Patlagean, I should like to explore further the evidence supplied by these works about methods of promoting the veneration of a saintly individual. It is my contention that careful analysis of the hagiographic dossier demonstrates that the development of the cult of Theodora was by no means a spontaneous phenomenon, as argued by Patlagean,³ but was the result of a carefully orchestrated publicity campaign on the part of lay supporters and

¹ On canonization in Byzantium, see R. Macrides, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period", in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London, 1981), 67-87; A.-M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium: The Posthumous Miracles of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite* (Brookline, Mass., 1983), 21-30; A.-M. Talbot, "Canonization", in *ODB*, 1, 372.

² E. Patlagean, "Theodora de Thessalonique. Une sainte moniale et un culte citadin (IX^e-XX^e siècle)", *Culto dei santi istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, edd. S. B. Gajano & L. Sebastiani (Rome, 1984), 44 [hereafter cited as Patlagean, "Theodora"].

³ Patlagean, "Theodora", 44: "le culte naît spontanément ...".

her relatives, especially her daughter. I will conclude by comparing the process of Theodora's sanctification with that of some other contemporary saints of the ninth and tenth centuries, primarily female, whose veneration was likewise promoted initially by their families. In this paper I am using the term "family cult" primarily to denote the promotion of the cult of a saint by kinsmen, but it can also mean the development of a cult in which several members of the same family were venerated. The two phenomena often overlap, as can be seen in the promotion of Theodora's kinsman Anony the confessor through his "mini-*vita*" inserted into the text of her *Life*, or the hints at the sanctity of the children of Mary the Younger to be found in her *vita*. In both cases the family is being glorified by means of the composition of a *vita* (which it may have commissioned) and the commemoration of its relative (or relatives) at a monastery with close ties to the family. As J. O. Rosenqvist has noted, "the classical ideal of sanctity had begun to change in parts of tenth-century" [and, I would add, late ninth-century] "hagiography. There were hagiographers of that period who attached great importance to the lineage and the families of their heroes ... the ... glory [of such saints] was shed above all on the saint's own family".⁴

Theodora was born in 812 on the island of Aigina. Her mother Chrysanthé died shortly after giving birth, so Theodora was entrusted by her father Antony to the care of a pious relative. When she was seven years old Theodora was betrothed to a nobleman of the island; her age at marriage is not specified. Probably in the 820s Aigina was raided by Arabs and her brother was killed. Theodora's husband and father decided to move the family to Thessalonike (where they had relatives) for greater safety; upon their arrival Antony retired to the mountains to pursue the life of a hermit. Theodora and her husband had three children, two of whom died young. The eldest child, Theopiste, was dedicated to monastic life c. 837 at age six in thanksgiving for her survival, and entered the convent of St Luke. Very soon thereafter Theodora was widowed at age 25, and decided to take monastic vows at the convent of St Stephen, where she was joined by Theopiste. Theodora lived the rest of her life at St Stephen's, where she distinguished herself by her humility, asceticism, and obedience. She refused to succeed her kinswoman Anna as abbess, when the latter retired in 868, but yielded the position to her daughter Theopiste. Theodora died in 892 at the age of 80.

⁴ J. O. Rosenqvist, *The Life of St Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton* (Uppsala, 1986), xxxii-xxxiii.

Such, in brief, is the story of Theodora's life as related in her *vita*, not terribly remarkable on the face of it. How was it then that she came to be recognized as a saint? Some answers to this question emerge from a close reading of her hagiographic dossier, especially the final portion of her *vita* and the appended account of the translation of her relics and her posthumous miracles. The *vita* of Theodora of Thessalonike has come down to us in two forms. The version published by Bishop Arsenij in 1899 (*BHG* 1737) and based on a 12th-century manuscript from Moscow, Synodal Library (now GIM) 390 (hereafter called version M), is generally accepted as the original form of the *vita* written by Gregory, a cleric of Thessalonike, in 894.⁵ The second version of the *vita* (*BHG* 1738), edited by E. Kurtz, is found in a late 13th-century manuscript in the Vatican (Palat. gr. 211), together with an appendix containing the *Translatio et miracula* (*BHG* 1739), which is missing in the Moscow manuscript.⁶ Kurtz believes this version, hereafter referred to as V, to be an anonymous paraphrase of the 9th-century *vita* by Gregory the Cleric, and argues that the copyist of V was also the paraphrast.⁷ His views are accepted by such scholars as H.-G. Beck and S. A. Paschalides,⁸ while A. Kazhdan is more sceptical and believes that V may be the original.⁹

It is not the purpose of this paper to rehearse in detail the arguments for the priority of version M edited by Bishop Arsenij. Suffice it to say that, as already demonstrated by Kurtz, the *vita* in the Moscow manuscript presents information, including proper names and toponyms, that is missing in version V;¹⁰ many passages in M (some of them difficult to

⁵ Bp. Arsenij, *Žitie i podvigi sv. Feodory Solunskoj* (Juriev, 1899), with Russian translation. Some emendations to the Greek text were suggested by P. Papageorgiu, "Zur *vita* der hl. Theodora von Thessalonike", *BZ* 10 (1901), 144-158.

⁶ E. Kurtz, *Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der hl. Theodora von Thessalonich nebst der Metaphrase des Johannes Staurakios* (St Petersburg, 1902) [hereafter cited as Kurtz, *Theodora*]. The *vita* alone is reprinted in D. G. Tsames, *Μητερικόν*, 4 (Alexandroupolis, 1993) with a modern Greek translation.

⁷ Kurtz, *Theodora*, v-vii.

⁸ Cf. H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 563-564; and S. A. Paschalides, 'Ο βίος τῆς ὁσιομυροβλήτιδος Θεοδώρας τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ. Διήγησις περὶ τῆς μεταθέσεως τοῦ τιμίου λειψάνου τῆς ὁσίας Θεοδώρας (Thessalonike, 1991), 28-32 [hereafter cited as Paschalides, *Theodora*].

⁹ His arguments can be found in an unpublished bio-bibliographical study of Byzantine saints, a photocopy of which is available in the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Library.

¹⁰ For example, V omits the name of Thoropa, the deserted place near Thessalonike where Theodora's father settled as a hermit (ch. 7). It also leaves out the name of Chiorosphaktes, the iconoclast persecutor of the abbess Anna (ch. 20); cf. Kurtz, *Theodora*, p. v, note 1.

construe or understand) are simplified or omitted in V;¹¹ other passages are altered in such a way that they no longer make sense;¹² V omits certain facts included in M which in some cases are crucial to our comprehension of the text.¹³ Kurtz stated that he could not prove that the *Translatio* in V was a paraphrase like the *vita*, since he had no original with which to compare it, but thought it likely.¹⁴ I am convinced that it is a paraphrase since the level of language seems to me identical with that of the paraphrase of the *vita*. This leaves the scholar who accepts the priority of M in the somewhat awkward position of having to use version M for the original *vita* and V for the paraphrased version of the *Translatio et miracula*. A Greek scholar from Thessalonike, Symeon Paschalides, has recently adopted this compromise solution and has brought together the *vita* from M (supplemented by readings from an incomplete 16th-century Athonite manuscript, Ivron 595) and the *Translatio et miracula* from V in a single volume, together with a modern Greek translation.¹⁵

Let me begin this study of the development of Theodora's cult by examining the prominent role played by her relatives in the *vita*. The hagiographer, Gregory the Cleric, first introduces her pious nuclear family in Aigina, her birthplace. Her father was a *protopresbyteros* at the cathedral of Aigina, her elder brother a deacon, her elder sister a nun. After the death of Theodora's mother, the baby was cared for by a pious female

¹¹ Cf. the description of the abbess Anna's dislocated hip in ch. 37: M reads ἐξωσθῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ὀσφύν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὀστοῦν τυγχανούσης δεξιᾶς κοτύλης τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ μηροῦ, which in V is rendered ἐξωσθῆναι τὸ ὀστοῦν τῆς δεξιᾶς κοτύλης αὐτῆς. A phrase found in ch. 22 in M, μὴ ἐνδιδοῦσαι αὐτῇ κἄν τι βραχύτατον τῶν εἰς ψυχῆς μὴ ἀγόντων τὸ κέρδος ποιεῖσθαι φροντίδα καὶ ἐπιμελεῖαι is left out in V. Likewise a difficult sentence in ch. 53 of M (ὁπόσον γὰρ τούτων θατέρω τῶν ἄκρων τὸ ἀκριβέστερον, τοσοῦτον τῷ μέσῳ τὸ τρανότερον καὶ ἀδίστακτον) is simply omitted in V.

¹² The paraphrast has changed τὸ ... τέμενος, τὸ πρὸς τῇ λεωφόρῳ τῇ ἐπὶ τὴν Κασσανδρεωτικὴν ἰούση πύλην διακείμενον (ch. 9) to τὸ ... τέμενος, ὃ δὲ πλησίον τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Κασσανδρεωτικὴν ἰούσης πύλην διάκειται ... The paraphrast also compresses the first part of ch. 17 in such a way as to suggest that the Council of 843 was held under Michael II (820–829).

¹³ For example, V omits the following facts provided by M: (1) that Aikaterine, a relative of Theodora, was abbess of the convent of St Luke (ch. 9), (2) that the convent of St Luke was spared by the iconoclasts because of its small size (ch. 9), and (3) that Theodora's daughter Theopiste moved from the convent of St Luke to the convent of St Stephen after the death of its abbess Aikaterine (ch. 25).

¹⁴ Kurtz, *Theodora*, vii–ix.

¹⁵ See note 8, above, for full citation of the Paschalides edition. This edition served as the basis for my own recent annotated English translation of the *vita* and *Translatio et miracula* to be included in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. A.-M. Talbot, now in press at Dumbarton Oaks.

relative who was also her godmother, while her father Antony took monastic vows and retired to a hermitage. The family emigrated to Thessalonike because they had a family support network there: another Antony, who was to become archbishop of Thessalonike in 843 (but was in exile when Theodora arrived); his sister, Aikaterine, the superior of the convent of St Luke; another kinswoman, Anna, superior of the convent of St Stephen; and Anna's sister, a nun in the same convent. Gregory is careful to emphasize the iconodule views of Theodora's father Antony (who retired as a hermit to the mountains near Thessalonike to avoid contact with the iconoclast church hierarchy); of the archbishop Antony, a confessor for the faith, who was beaten and exiled under Leo V; of Aikaterine, whose convent is said to have escaped the attention of the iconoclasts because of its small size; and Anna, who was herself a confessor who had suffered a beating at the hands of an imperial bodyguard named Choirosphaktes. The hagiographer gives particular attention to Antony the confessor and archbishop, devoting nine chapters (ch. 10-18) to him, in essence a "mini-vita". For he includes not only a brief biography of Antony, but details of his torture and his confrontation with Leo V, during which the iconodule delivered an impassioned defense of image veneration (ch. 13-15), similar to those found in *vitae* of other iconodule saints. Gregory concludes his account with a description of how Antony's body remained uncorrupted a half-century after his death and how his relics worked miracles (ch. 18), two standard features of hagiography.¹⁶

Theodora's immediate family suffered a series of tragedies during the years following its arrival in Thessalonike, with the untimely deaths of her two youngest children and her husband. Theodora responded to these losses in an ambivalent fashion: on the one hand she gave up her sole remaining child by dedicating her to monastic life, but at the same time she retained family links by placing her at the convent of St Luke, which was under the supervision of her relative Aikaterine. When Theodora's husband died shortly thereafter, and her father also passed away, Theodora did not mourn unduly, Gregory tells us, for widowhood gave her the opportunity to fulfil her long held dream of becoming a nun. And so she took the monastic vows that entailed forgetting her biological family and viewing her fellow nuns as her sisters. Yet she entered the convent

¹⁶ On Antony, see now S. A. Paschalides, "Ἐνὰς ὁμολογητὴς τῆς Δευτέρου Εἰκονομαχίας: ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης Ἀντώνιος († 844)", *Βυζαντινὰ* 17 (1994), 189-216, which came to my attention only after this article had been submitted for publication.

where her kinswoman Anna was abbess, and arranged for the transfer of her daughter Theopiste from the convent of St Luke to St Stephen precisely because the abbess at St Luke, her relative Aikaterine, had died, and therefore Theodora worried about the welfare of her daughter.

As Alexander Kazhdan has already remarked,¹⁷ one of the most important episodes in the *vita* (ch. 25–30) deals with the tension between the natural affection of a mother for her daughter and the monastic ideal of renouncing one's family to become a true disciple of Christ (Luke 14:26).¹⁸ The hagiographer recounts that Theodora was unable to ignore her relationship with her daughter and to treat her as just one of the other nuns, but bestowed special attention upon her, worried about her meager diet and ragged clothing, and asked the abbess to give her certain privileges. The abbess Anna, determined to break the bonds between Theodora and Theopiste, devised a cruel punishment: mother and daughter were to live in the same cell, to eat and work together, without speaking to each other. Theodora and Theopiste dutifully obeyed for fifteen years until the abbess relented after Theodora fell ill. Henceforth the two nuns were permitted to converse, but according to Gregory they no longer viewed each other as mother or daughter but as sisters. Gregory presents this tale in such a way as to suggest that Anna was deliberately grooming her protégée Theodora for sanctity. As he recounts, Theodora had gained a reputation for asceticism soon after her arrival at the convent; she maintained rigorous fasts, slept on a pallet, and did not shrink from any form of menial labor. But Anna worried that Theodora's maternal love was the one flaw in her character: "<Anna> sought to find a small pretext to free her from her emotional attachment, secretly entreating the Lord to aid and assist Theodora so that the indescribable labor and toil which she undertook for His sake not be rendered unacceptable through the scheming of the Devil."¹⁹

The subsequent episode of the *vita* (ch. 31–35) demonstrates similar motivation on the part of Anna, if we accept Gregory's interpretation. It was winter and so cold that the abbess ordered the nuns to take their meals in the dormitory rather than in the refectory. But a cauldron of hot water spilled and soaked the place where Theodora usually slept on the floor; therefore, without asking the abbess' permission, she moved her mattress to a dry spot. Anna, "seizing this opportune moment to procure

¹⁷ A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes", *Byz* 54 (1984), 192.

¹⁸ On this theme see A.-M. Talbot, "The Byzantine Family and the Monastery", *DOP* 44 (1990), 119–29, esp. 119 f.

¹⁹ Paschalides, *Theodora*, ch. 27.2–7.

for her [Theodora] a crown of obedience" (ch. 31), ordered her to spend the night in the open courtyard in freezing rain. While Theodora was enduring this ordeal, the abbess assembled the other nuns in the chapel, and "clearly described her noble trials of endurance, and accordingly heaped praise on her for each of them; and through these encomia she magnified <Theodora> and devised precepts of obedience for the nuns" (ch. 34). Moreover, she specifically compared Theodora to one of the forty martyrs of Sebasteia, who were forced to stand overnight in a freezing lake,²⁰ and speculated that God might deem her worthy of the same rewards, i.e., a martyr's crown. Prompted no doubt by this comparison, the abbess' sister (who was thus also a relative of Theodora) spoke up to say that during the night she had seen a luminous crown descending from heaven, and had heard a voice saying "This is Theodora's" (ch. 34). The groundwork was evidently being laid for the sanctification of Theodora.

Because of her humility Theodora refused to succeed the aged Anna as abbess, so the choice fell upon Theopiste. As a result, Theodora's daughter became her "mother" as the mother superior. In fact the penance imposed by the abbess had not broken the family ties between Theodora and Theopiste; as we shall see, Theopiste remained devoted to her mother, and was determined to ensure her future veneration as a saint. Gregory recounts that Theodora herself foresaw that her relics would have the power of working miracles, and therefore requested that, contrary to the normal custom at the convent of St Stephen, her body be buried in a separate tomb (ch. 40). This seems out of character with Theodora's usual modesty, and may well reflect rather the wishes of Theopiste. In any case, after Theodora's death, when Theopiste wanted to place her mother's remains in an individual tomb, she was opposed by a group of "priests and monks" who insisted that she be buried in the communal tomb in the church together with the other nuns (ch. 43). This is the first hint that there was some opposition in the official church hierarchy of Thessalonike to the promotion of the cult of Theodora.

The miracles began even before Theodora's body was placed in the tomb. While she was still laid out on the bier, three men were cured of illness by kissing her remains. Significantly the first man to be healed was Demetrios, a cleric at the church of St Demetrios, who, we are told, "had for a long time been a friend and acquaintance of the blessed Theo-

²⁰ Paschalides, *Theodora*, ch. 34.9-11: τοὺς τὴν τοῦ κρύου καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος δριμύτητα δι' αὐτὸν [sc. θεὸν] ὑπομείνασι τεσσαράκοιτα μάρτυροι.

dora" (ch. 44). It is noteworthy first of all that he had evidently not found relief from his affliction at the shrine of his namesake, St Demetrios, but was cured at Theodora's convent, which may have hoped to become a shrine which would rival that of the church of St Demetrios. Secondly, he was not an anonymous pilgrim, but a deacon who had long been an admirer of Theodora. It is probably not coincidental that John, the second man to be cured, lived in the neighborhood of the convent.

Once Theodora's remains had been buried and pilgrims could no longer have direct access to her relics, their miraculous power was transferred, as in the case of so many other saints, to the oil in the lamp that hung above the communal tomb. For soon after her death this oil proved itself to be no ordinary lamp oil, but miraculously it burned all day long without being consumed; indeed it was so abundant that it overflowed onto the floor, and had to be collected in a special vessel placed underneath (ch. 47). Not only was the oil wondrously plentiful, but it had the power of spontaneous combustion, according to the testimony of Sisinnios, one of the seven priests whom Theopiste had asked to perform the forty days of commemorative rites following her mother's death. Moreover, the oil was able to work healing miracles, as in the case of a neighbor boy named Theodore and another young man named George, who were both afflicted with demonic possession.

The next stage in the promotion of Theodora's cult was her depiction in an icon. We are told that a painter John, who had never visited the convent of St Stephen, dreamed about the communal tomb at the church with the hanging lamp overflowing with oil. The next day he was taken to the church by an acquaintance and recognized it as the church he had seen in his dreams. The following nights he dreamed twice about painting an icon of a nun. Then he recounted his vision to the abbess, i.e., Theopiste, and was no doubt urged by her to act on the promptings of his dream visions. And so, "he painted the icon of the blessed Theodora, without having learned from anyone her height or her complexion or her facial features. And through divine guidance and with the assistance of the intercession of the blessed <Theodora>, he depicted her in such a way that those who knew her well said that she looked <in the icon> just as she did when she was younger."²¹ Shortly afterward *myron* began to flow from the icon through a hole in the palm of the right hand, in

²¹ Paschalides, *Theodora*, ch. 54.9-14. For discussion of this passage and similar texts describing the initial creation of icons of saints, see A. Kazhdan and H. Maguire, "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art", *DOP* 45 (1991), 5-6. See also in the same *DOP* volume, G. Dagron, "Holy Images and Likeness", 23-33.

such quantities that a lead receptacle had to be affixed to the icon to collect it. This oil also proved to have the power of working healing miracles (ch. 54). Gregory comments that it was just as well that the initial creation of an icon of Theodora happened in this miraculous manner, "so that in this way the blessed <Theodora> might be glorified even more greatly and lest certain people, out of ignorance of her deeds, surmise that this <act> was not pleasing to God" (ch. 52). Again the text hints at the opposition in certain quarters to the development of the cult of Theodora, in which the manufacture of an icon was a crucial element; the exudation of *myron* from the icon proved that God viewed with favor its creation.

Up to now the new shrine of Theodora had attracted pilgrims only from Thessalonike. Soon, however, word of the miracles spread throughout northern and central Greece. Thus a woman in Thebes whose slave girl was blind sent to the convent of St Stephen to ask that some of the oil be sent to her in a vessel. It cured not only the servant girl but a number of other people who lived in Thebes. Thus it proved possible to benefit from the miracles of Theodora even at a distance through the agency of the oil.

Two episodes in the closing pages of the *vita* of Theodora shed yet further light on the development of her cult. First of all, Gregory describes the scepticism of a group of hermit monks who lived in the mountains outside Thessalonike. They were dubious that "a woman who lived in a city and had once been married" could be blessed by God with miraculous powers. Their reservations about Theodora's sanctity suggest that they felt it was unusual for an urban-dwelling woman to become a saint, especially if she had been married, and that the norm was a monk who lived as a hermit or as a cenobite in rural or wilderness isolation. The monks arrived at the convent almost like an investigating committee, and inspected the icon from which the oil flowed, trying "to understand the nature and origin of its flow". They were convinced of the healing power of the oil when one of their number, named Antony, was relieved from a painful condition in his hips by anointing them with the oil (ch. 59). One should also note that the penultimate miracle in the *vita* describes how a nun who was the daughter of a priest at St Demetrios was cured of edema in the legs (ch. 60). Once again, as in the very first healing miracle, the oil of St Theodora succeeded where, one assumes, the shrine of St Demetrios had proved ineffective.

Shortly before the conclusion of the *vita*, which forms the first part of Gregory's narrative, the important figure of Theodotos enters the pic-

ture. As we learn from subsequent chapters of the *Translatio et miracula*, Theodotos lived in the neighborhood of the St Stephen convent. In 892 he had been married for about fifteen years to a woman of the nobility, and no doubt was a man of comfortable circumstances. He and his wife, however, had suffered the tragic loss of four children in a row in early childhood. In despair they decided to make a vow that, if they were blessed with a fifth child, they would dedicate it to monastic life in the hope that it would reach adulthood (ch. 13 of *Translatio*). They may well have been influenced by the example of Theodora, who had consecrated her only remaining child to the convent in thanksgiving for its survival. In 892 Theodotos' wife gave birth to a little girl whom they named Theopiste after the very same dedicated child who had subsequently become abbess of the neighboring convent. They did not immediately bring her to St Stephen's, however, perhaps intending to wait until she was weaned. But the baby fell seriously ill before she was a year old (i.e., in 893, after Theodora's death). Theodotos prayed to Theodora, promising to enter his infant daughter immediately in the convent if her life were saved. Theodora answered his prayers, the baby survived, and was taken to the convent and clothed in the monastic habit (ch. 14-15 of *Translatio*).

This was the situation then in 893 when Theodotos is first introduced to the reader: he lives near the convent of St Stephen where his small daughter, named Theopiste after the abbess, has been dedicated to monastic life because of his gratitude to the abbess' recently deceased mother, Theodora, who has answered his prayers and saved the child's life. Clearly an ardent believer in Theodora's miraculous power, he is eager to promote her cult. Thus he persuades an iconoclast acquaintance from a village in the Chalkidike to come to the shrine and see how oil gushes forth miraculously from Theodora's icon. The iconoclast accompanies his friend to St Stephen's and is convinced when he is healed immediately after anointing his painful hip with oil from the icon. He recants his iconoclastic beliefs, and kisses the icon of Theodora (ch. 57).

Theodotos, to whom Gregory applies the epithet "worthy of remembrance", plays an especially prominent role in the narrative of the *Translatio et miracula*. It is here that we read the story of Theodotos' tragic loss of one child after another, and the tale of his dedication of the infant Theopiste. Gregory begins the *Translatio* by explaining how the relics of Theodora came to be transferred to a separate tomb (ch. 2-7). He recounts that during the first year after her death the nuns at St Stephen had recurring dreams in which Theodora appeared to them, urging them

to move her remains from the communal tomb, and rebuking her daughter Theopiste for failing to heed her wishes. In June 893 a miraculous sign of Theodora's displeasure occurred: one of the marble slabs covering the communal tomb spontaneously cracked and popped away from the pavement. The only witnesses were Theodotos, who happened to be praying in the burial chapel, and a deaf and dumb woman from Berroia who was also paralyzed. The abbess Theopiste, upon hearing the noise of the cracking slab, came running to the church, and witnessed the miraculous healing of the afflictions of the pilgrim from Berroia. She and Theodotos then offered prayers of thanksgiving to Christ for sending the miraculous signs.

After a second and third slab also popped off the communal tomb, Theopiste decided that it was imperative to remove her mother's remains to a separate tomb. We are told that Theodotos was her principal collaborator in the preparation for the translation of the relics. A priest-sculptor was hired to carve a marble sarcophagus with exterior decoration; he completed the job in about a month. So that pilgrims could see Theodora's face, a wooden cover was placed over the top of the sarcophagus (in place of the usual stone slab), with a removable section at the head end of the sarcophagus.

The actual ceremony of translation seems to have been carried out in some secrecy. Theopiste invited seven priests to come to the convent (perhaps the same seven priests who had celebrated the forty days of commemorative rites?) after dark; upon their arrival they locked the doors (of either the convent or the church) behind them. It is probably not coincidental that the abbess decided to move her mother's remains precisely at the time that the archbishop of Thessalonike, John, had gone to Constantinople with his suffragan bishops to attend the installation of Antony II Kauleas (893-901) as patriarch (*Translatio*, ch. 4). The timing certainly suggests once again the opposition of the official hierarchy to the cult of St Theodora,²² and that Theopiste intended to present them with a *fait accompli* upon their return.

The priests began to excavate the tomb around midnight of the night of August 2-3, 893. They encountered an unexpected problem when they were unable to budge the stone slab that sealed the communal tomb,

²² Thus I must disagree with E. Patlagean's conclusion that the official Church "ratified and organized" popular demand for recognition of Theodora's cult; cf. Patlagean, "Theodora", 44.

but thanks to the prayers of Gregory's father, the priest John, the stone eventually yielded. Although the meaning of the subsequent passage is not entirely clear, it seems that the priests decided to leave in the chapel the marble slabs which had cracked spontaneously as a sort of memento of the miracle, and to "persuade those with minds like stone that it is pleasing to God and to <Theodora> for her living relics to be seen and venerated by all" (ch. 5), yet one more allusion to the hostility in certain quarters to the translation of Theodora's relics. The priests descended into the communal tomb (evidently a crypt-like structure), and after wrapping Theodora's remains in a simple woolen shroud translated them to the newly made sarcophagus. Her body and monastic garb were found to be preserved in virtually perfect condition,²³ a further mark of sanctity. And as is common with the relics of saints, they exuded a perfumed aroma that wafted throughout the neighborhood. Although Gregory comments that the priests wrapped the body in the shroud to keep the faithful from grabbing for relics, they themselves could not resist temptation, and cut up little pieces of the *simikinthion* (a narrow girdle which bound her hands to her chest) as *eulogiai* (sacred souvenirs) for each of them. A final sign was that the relics began to exude *myron* which flowed out of the sarcophagus through the hole which had been drilled to permit the drainage of water when the sarcophagus was washed out. This abundance of *myron* from three sources, lamp, icon and sarcophagus, helped to preserve Theodora's relics by obviating the need to steal pieces of her body or garments,²⁴ and by providing a continual source of liquid sanctified by contact with or proximity to her icon or relics.

The posthumous miracles continued: among those healed were a baby with convulsions, a paralyzed child, and a young woman from Berroia with a dislocated jaw. But Gregory lavishes the most detail on miraculous healings of his own sister Martha and of Theodotos' baby daughter Theopiste. It seems that by 894, when his daughter was two years old, Theodotos had moved into the convent of St Stephen (in a private apartment or in the guesthouse?), perhaps because the girl was again at death's door, after being ill for over five months. One night a nun had a vision in which she saw Theodora sitting on top of her sarcophagus, while Theodotos stood alongside with his baby in his arms. Theodotos reproached the saint for not heeding his prayers despite his "extra-

²³ Is it mere coincidence that her corpse was found uncorrupted only four years after the similar discovery of the perfectly preserved body of her kinsman, the archbishop Antony (cf. ch. 18)?

²⁴ Patlagean, "Theodora", 45-46.

ordinary veneration of <her>, both while <she was> still alive and after <her> death" (ch. 14). And indeed the child recovered, and continued to live happily in the convent.

One should not overlook the role of Gregory's family in the promotion of the cult of Theodora. His father John may have been one of the priests selected by Theopiste to perform the commemorative rites after Theodora's death, and was a key member of the group of priests who performed the actual translation. Gregory was in attendance upon his father at the translation, so that he was able to provide an eyewitness report. But it was the miraculous healing of his young sister Martha from a disease which was probably smallpox that decided him to recount the saint's life and posthumous miracles. The girl fell victim to an epidemic that must have occurred in Thessalonike in 894, was covered with pustules, and became desperately ill. But being aware of the miracles performed by Theodora and her family's devotion to the saint, Martha prayed to her and to St Barbara for healing. In a vision she saw the two saints who anointed her with oil; almost immediately her condition improved, although her limbs remained paralyzed. During the final phase of her illness, it was necessary to insert wicking compresses to drain pus from her body; the pitiful child, suffering greatly from this painful treatment, called once more upon Theodora. The saint appeared to Martha, assuring her that she would fully recover, as indeed she soon did.

To sum up then, I would conclude that the development of the cult of St Theodora at the end of the 9th century was the result of a campaign led by her daughter, by the nuns of the convent of St Stephen (which was closely associated with Theodora's family), and by devoted lay supporters to promote her tomb and relics as a miracle-working shrine which would attract pilgrims. Two years after Theodora's death, all the necessary elements for her sanctification were in place: an icon was painted; her body was discovered to be preserved intact and was translated to a private tomb; *myron* exuded miraculously from the lamp over her tomb, from her icon and from her relics; numerous healing miracles were performed; and an account of her life and posthumous miracles was written.

The new cult of Theodora was evidently perceived by some, however, as in competition with the shrine of St Demetrios; it is not coincidental that, as mentioned above, her hagiographer related the cures of two individuals closely connected with the church of Thessalonike's patron saint, the deacon Demetrios who was a member of its clergy (ch. 44) and a nun who was the daughter of Kosmas, another cleric there (ch. 60). Hence there evidently arose some opposition to Theodora's veneration.

tion on the part of the official hierarchy of Thessalonike, so that it became necessary to proceed with the translation of her relics in secrecy and during the absence of the archbishop.

It seems that Theodora, whose relics and icon were producing *myron* by 894, can claim priority over Demetrios as the first *myroblytos* saint of Thessalonike. Until recently it has been accepted that the earliest attested allusion to Demetrios as *myroblytos* was to be found in John Kaminiates' account of the capture of Thessalonike by the Arabs in 904, a composition generally believed to be of the 10th century.²⁵ The Soterious, basing their argument on the text of Kaminiates and archaeological evidence, suggested that the remodeling necessary for the distribution of *myron* at St Demetrios took place around the 10th century.²⁶ There is some question, however, as to the authenticity of Kaminiates' work as an eyewitness account,²⁷ and A. Mentzos, the latest investigator of the cult of St Demetrios, discounts the testimony of Kaminiates, arguing that the first sure evidence for the production of *myron* at the shrine of St Demetrios dates to the 11th century.²⁸ In any case there seems to be no mention of *myron* at St Demetrios between 904 and the mid-11th century. If indeed the production of *myron* gave Theodora's shrine a special distinction in Thessalonike, it is not surprising that the church hierarchy was concerned about preserving the status of St Demetrios as the city's patron saint and maintaining the reputation of his shrine as the city's most important pilgrimage church.²⁹

²⁵ Cf. John Kaminiates, *De expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. G. Böhlig (Berlin, 1973), 5.66.

²⁶ G. A. & M. A. Soteriou, 'Η βασιλική τοῦ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης (Athens, 1952), 20-23, 51-57.

²⁷ See A. Kazhdan, "Some Questions Addressed to the Scholars Who Believe in the Authenticity of Kaminiates' 'Capture of Thessalonica'", *BZ* 71 (1978), 301-314. His arguments have been challenged by E. Trapp, "Η χρονολογία συγγραφῆς τοῦ 'Περὶ Ἀλώσεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης' ἔργου τοῦ Ἰωάννου Καμινιάτη ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει γλωσσικῶν δεδομένων", ΚΔ' Δημήτρια, Γ' Ἐπιστημονικὸν Συμπόσιον: Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη - Ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουστινιανείου ἐποχῆς ἕως καὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς δυναστείας (Thessalonike, 1991), 47-52.

²⁸ A. Mentzos, *Τὸ προσκύνημα τοῦ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης στὰ βυζαντινὰ χρόνια* (Athens, 1994), 120-129, 157-159. I wish to thank Jim Skedros for bringing this book to my attention. See also the remarks of Pallagean, "Theodora", 46-48, on the relationship between the two cults in Thessalonike.

²⁹ It should be further noted that the church of St Demetrios housed not only the shrine of the patron saint of Thessalonike, but also the miracle-working relics of Theodora's kinsman, archbishop Antony, which were deposited in the chapel of St John the Baptist (cf. ch. 18).

Whereas many saints' cults remained strictly localized, and their commemoration was limited to the neighborhood of a monastic church or private funerary chapel, Theodora's fame spread to such an extent that pilgrims came from other Macedonian cities or sent from Thebes for a vial of oil. Eventually she came to be a true urban saint, closely identified with her adopted city, as indicated by her sobriquet "of Thessalonike". Gregory gives very little information on how the convent disseminated publicity about the various miraculous events at the convent. Certain individuals, like Theodotos who told his iconoclast friend about the miraculous icon of Theodora, or the man who urged the mother of the baby with convulsions to go to Theodora's grave (*Translatio*, ch. 10), clearly played an important role in attracting pilgrims to the shrine. Gregory frequently stresses the role of word-of-mouth: "news <of the incident of the overflowing lamp> suddenly spread through the whole city <of Thessalonike> as if a herald had proclaimed it" (ch. 47); "the tale of this miracle <of the icon exuding oil> ... resounded throughout the city and all its environs" (ch. 54); "word <of the miracles> spread all over the earth as if on wings" (ch. 56); "the fame of the blessed <Theodora> was greatly increasing because the events themselves were emitting a highly visible light and voice, like a shining lamp and loud-voiced herald from a high vantage point" (ch. 60); "<after the translation> somehow the news suddenly spread everywhere, and so many people came that there was not enough room in the forecourt for the crowd that streamed in" (*Translatio*, ch. 8).

We have thus seen how the hagiographic dossier of Theodora sheds light on the familial character of her nunnery and how her sanctity was promoted by her family, fellow nuns and lay supporters with considerable success; as a result her convent became a famed healing shrine that reportedly rivalled the church of St Demetrios in popularity. This is by no means an isolated phenomenon, for the role played by Theodora's family in the development of her cult is paralleled in the case of other holy women of the 9th and 10th century. Consider, for instance, the empress Theophano who died shortly after Theodora, in 895 or 896. Theophano, the first of the four wives of Leo VI, was a married laywoman who never took monastic vows, but was noted for her piety and charitable activities; she, too, attained sanctity thanks to the efforts of her relatives. The anonymous author of her *vita* (BHG 1794) tells us that he was a friend of Theophano's father, the *patrikos* Constantine Martinakios, and of her uncle the *artoklines* (or *atriklines*) Martin.³⁰ He

³⁰ E. Kurtz, *Zwei griechische Texte über die heilige Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaisers*

reports that Martin actively encouraged the composition of hymns in his niece's honor, describing how Martin appeared to him in a dream and scolded him for not writing kanons on Theophano. When the hagiographer retorted that he was at a loss as to which themes to use in his composition, since Theophano had not distinguished herself as an ascetic, nor was she martyred, nor did she work miracles in her lifetime, Martin dictated the hymns to the reluctant writer. As soon as he woke up, he put pen to paper and rapidly produced the texts of two kanons.³¹ In view of this express interest in promoting the cult of Theophano, it seems reasonable to assume that it was Martin or another member of Theophano's family who commissioned the *vita* of the empress.

The parallel role played by Theophano's husband, the emperor Leo VI, in promoting the veneration of his dead consort is passed over by the contemporary *vita* but recorded in several historical works³² and in a later *vita* by Nikephoros Gregoras (*BHG* 1795).³³ These sources record that, even though Leo's first marriage was unhappy and he took Zoe Zaoutzaina as a mistress while Theophano was still alive, after her death he decided to encourage her popular veneration by constructing a large funerary chapel next to the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.³⁴ According to the 14th-century account of Gregoras (which must be based on an earlier source), Leo's unilateral proclamation of his late wife's sanctity by dedicating the church to "saint Theophano" shocked certain members of the church hierarchy, who felt that he was motivated by kinship ties rather than by godly zeal; as a result the name of the church was changed to "All Saints".³⁵

Leo VI. (St Petersburg, 1898), 1.13, 21.30-32 [hereafter cited as Kurtz, *Theophano*]. On the hagiographer, see P. Cesaretti, "Some Remarks on the Vita of the Empress Theophano (BHG 1794)", *Svenska kommittén för bysantinska studier. Bulletin* 6 (1988), 26-27.

³¹ Kurtz, *Theophano* 21-22. The hagiographer mentions the incipit of one of the kanons, but it is not to be found in E. Follieri's *Initia hymnorum ecclesiae graecae*, 6 vols. (Vatican City, 1960-1966).

³² For example, ps.-Symeon Magister (Bonn ed.), 702-703; Zonaras (Bonn ed.), vol. 3, 446.

³³ Kurtz, *Theophano*, 42-43.

³⁴ On this church and the vicissitudes of the relics of Theophano, see G. P. Majeska, "The Body of St. Theophano the Empress and the Convent of St. Constantine", *ByzSlav* 38 (1977), 14-21, and G. Downey, "The Church of All Saints (Church of St. Theophano) near the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople", *DOP* 9-10 (1955-1956), 301-305.

³⁵ Kurtz, *Theophano*, 43: ἀνήγειρε αὐτὸς ... [sc. Leo VI] ... νεὺν ἕτερον σχήματι καὶ θέσει καὶ μεγέθει λίαν διαπρεπέστατον καὶ βασιλικώτατον, οὗ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν εἰς τὸ Θεοφανοῦς τῆς ἁγίας ἐπέγραψεν ὄνομα, ὑστερον δ' εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων

A similar pattern of family involvement in promoting the cult of a married woman can be seen in the *vita* of Mary the Younger of Bizye (BHG 1164),³⁶ who died in 903 and was thus a contemporary of Theodora of Thessalonike and the empress Theophano. Mary was a pious housewife who was noted for her asceticism, good works and endurance of brutal treatment at the hands of her husband Nikephoros. Following her death, which resulted indirectly from spousal abuse, Mary was buried at the episcopal church of Bizye, Hagia Sophia. Four months later, when a demoniac came to the church seeking her assistance, the archbishop was shocked, protesting that "God has granted the ability to perform miracles to chaste men, holy monks and martyrs", but not to a woman like Mary who was married and gave no indication of great deeds in her lifetime. It is noteworthy that the archbishop suspected that it was one of Mary's relatives or her husband who had suggested to the demoniac that Mary had miraculous powers. Mary's husband Nikephoros in turn accused his wife's relatives of conspiring with the possessed man to demonstrate her healing powers (ch. 12). Gradually, however, Nikephoros began to play a role in the promotion of his wife's cult: he "allowed people to help" a frenzied demoniac to raise the stone cover of Mary's coffin, and offered hospitality to an abbess from Arkadioupolis when she came to Bizye to visit Mary's tomb (ch. 16). As Theodora of Thessalonike had appeared in dreams to the nuns of St Stephen's requesting the translation of her body to an individual tomb, so Nikephoros reportedly dreamed that Mary urged him to build a separate chapel for her relics. The archbishop consecrated the newly constructed funerary chapel, but, again as in the case of Theodora, the translation of Mary's relics was effected when the archbishop was absent from the city (ch. 17). Mango has suggested that the clergy of Hagia Sophia did not want the cathedral to give up her relics and thus lose the profits from pilgrimage.³⁷

μετήνεγκε κλήσιν διὰ φθόνον οὐκ εὐλογον ἐπισκόπων τινῶν· συγγενικοῦ γὰρ ἔφασαν εἶναι πόθον τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐκεῖνο καὶ μὴ πάνυ τελῶς ὁρῶν πρὸς ἔνθεον ζῆλον. It is noteworthy that, according to ps.-Symeon Magister (loc. cit.), Leo also built a church in honor of his second wife, Zoe daughter of Stylianos Zaoutzes, whom he called "St Zoe".

³⁶ The Greek text is found in *AASS*, Nov. IV, 692-705. Phrases cited in English translation are borrowed from the new translation (with extensive introduction and notes) by A. E. Laiou now in press as part of a volume entitled *Holy Women of Byzantium* (see note 15, above).

³⁷ C. Mango, "The Byzantine Church at Vize (Bizye) in Thrace and St. Mary the Younger", *ZRVI* 11 (1968), 12.

The creation of Mary's icon followed the translation of her relics, in contrast to the case of Theodora whose icon was painted while she was still in the communal tomb of the nuns. But as with the painter of Theodora's image, Mary's iconographer was enabled to paint the likeness of a woman he had never seen when she appeared to him in a dream. The extraordinary feature of Mary's iconography is that hers was a "family icon" that depicted her together with the two small sons who had predeceased her, and with her handmaiden Agathe (ch. 18).³⁸

The hagiographer describes with considerable relish the miserable fates of Mary's in-laws, who had consistently slandered the holy woman during her lifetime and after her death. Even Nikephoros, who had become an active promoter of his wife's cult and kept the key to her coffin, was punished with divine retribution (evidently for his earlier abuse of Mary) and suffered a dislocated shoulder in a riding accident (ch. 21). Following his death during the Bulgarian siege of Bizye Nikephoros was buried on the left side of the funerary chapel he had erected for his wife (ch. 24).

Mary's two surviving sons, Vaanes and Stephen-Symeon, figure prominently in the final chapters of the *vita* (ch. 24-27, 30-31). Although both had moved away from Bizye, they continued to support their mother's cult. They donated their inheritance, for example, to the chapel that housed Mary's relics to turn it into a monastery. In a curious episode twenty-five years after Mary's death Symeon moved his father's remains outside the chapel and transferred his mother's uncorrupted relics to his father's tomb (ch. 27). Did he still bear a grudge against Nikephoros for his abuse of Mary?

The hagiographer praises the piety of both sons, and suggests that the monk Symeon, famed for his asceticism, should be "numbered among the saints" like his mother (ch. 31). He concludes that "it was indeed meet and proper that such sons should have been born to such <a mother>, holy ones from the holy one ... sainted sons from the sainted <mother> ..." (ch. 32), and invokes Mary as standing before the Trinity together "with the precious choir of your children" (ch. 33). Thus, not only was the cult of Mary promoted by her husband and sons, but her hagiographer and icon painter sought to shed the aura of sanctity on her sons as well. At the same time Mary's cult spread far beyond family and friends; just as Theodora was venerated in Thessalonike, so Mary came to be viewed as the patron saint of Bizye and was designated "the

³⁸ See A. Kazhdan & H. Maguire, "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art", *DOP* 45 (1991), 5-6. No image of Mary the Younger has survived.

protector of this best of <all> cities, to which God has granted your most sacred and holy body to be the succor of all its inhabitants" (ch. 33).

Yet another example of a family cult for a married woman who achieved sanctity without taking the veil is that of St Theokleto. A contemporary of the emperor Theophilos, she was noted for her study of the Holy Scriptures, her almsgiving to the poor and her concern for her household. Her cult must have been quite restricted, since we do not even know where it was located; her memory is preserved only in brief entries in synaxaria and menologia, for example, the 10th-century *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. The latter notice, however, describes the curious ritual with which her relatives commemorated the anniversary of her death: they changed the garments on her uncorrupted corpse, combed her hair, and cut her fingernails and toenails (which presumably continued to grow).³⁹

Fewer details about the process of sanctification emerge from the *vita* of Thomais of Lesbos, a married female saint of the 10th century, and the role of her relatives in the promotion of her cult is less apparent.⁴⁰ Her anonymous hagiographer does, however, focus on her family and devotes an unusual amount of space to praise of her parents, Michael and Kale; he emphasizes her father's "angelic lifestyle", holy way of life, and assiduous attendance at church services, and her mother's beauty of soul and lifestyle pleasing to God (ch. 3-4). After the barren couple's prayers for a child were granted with the birth of Thomais, "they devoted themselves to fasting and all-night prayer ... living their lives in a way pleasing to God" (ch. 6). When Michael died, Kale entered the convent of τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίων in Constantinople where she followed an exemplary ascetic regime (ch. 7) and eventually became mother superior (ch. 22). Thomais never took the veil, but distinguished herself by works of charity and patient endurance of abuse from her husband. After her death at age 38, in accordance with her instructions Thomais' remains were buried in the forecourt of the church at the convent of τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίων (ch. 16). But after her relics worked a number of posthumous miracles, the nuns of the convent translated her relics to a tomb inside the church (ch. 17), where they became the focus of a cult. The hagiog-

³⁹ *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Novembris*, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902), 914.

⁴⁰ Her *vita* (BHG 2454) can be found in *AASS*, Nov. IV, 234-242. My citations in English translation are borrowed from the new annotated translation by Paul Halsall included in the forthcoming volume *Holy Women of Byzantium* (see note 15, above).

rapher does not specify whether her mother Kale was still alive and functioning as abbess at this time; but it is certainly no coincidence that Thomaïs came to be buried and venerated at a convent where her mother was serving or had recently served as mother superior. One is reminded of the translation of Theodora of Thessalonike, although in the latter case it was the daughter Theopiste who promoted the sanctification of her mother.

As a final instance in which family members seem to have played a role in promoting the sanctification of a female relative, I should mention St Irene of Chrysobalanton, a celibate nun and abbess of the 9th–10th century. The historicity of Irene may be somewhat suspect, but her cult was real and was evidently supported by the Gouber family, Irene's kinsmen in Constantinople, as was no doubt the convent of Chrysobalanton. The anonymous hagiographer of her *vita* may have been a Gouber or was commissioned by the Gouber family (or family convent?) to write an account of Irene.⁴¹

Certain patterns have emerged from this survey of female saints in the 9th and 10th century: (1) a new phenomenon develops of the married saintly woman⁴² and (2) their cults were very often supported by family members, such as a husband (Theophano), children (Theodora of Thessalonike), husband and children (Mary the Younger), or other relatives (Theophano, Theokleto, Irene of Chrysobalanton).⁴³ One can propose a couple of factors which led to this promotion of the sanctity of holy women by their kinsmen. In the case of married women saints, they left behind husbands or children who might have a vested interest in developing a cult around the relics of their spouse or mother. Even those holy women who entered monasteries (for example, Theodora of Thessalonike, Irene of Chrysobalanton) usually remained in large urban centers, stayed in the same convent for life, and maintained close ties with family members.⁴⁴

⁴¹ See Rosenqvist, *The Life of St Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton*, esp. xxiii–xliii.

⁴² This phenomenon was first remarked upon by E. Patlagean, "L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance", *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 17 (1976), 620–622.

⁴³ I have excluded the empresses Irene and Theodora from consideration in this article, since they were sanctified for their role in restoring the veneration of icons. Their *vitae* are political and historical in character, and are closer to the form of chronicles than hagiographical accounts.

⁴⁴ On the tendency of nuns to enter urban convents and to remain in one establishment for life, see A.-M. Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women", *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30 (1985), 1–4, 14–18.

Space limitations preclude similar analysis here of family cults of male saints during these two centuries; such a study is indeed needed. I will hazard only a few preliminary and tentative observations. In contrast to their female urban and married counterparts male saints were more likely to be celibate and childless monks. They were also inclined to travel extensively and move from one rural monastery to another or to live in remote hermitages, effectively severing contact with their parents and siblings. Even holy men who married at an early stage in their career (for example, Euthymios the Younger, Theophanes the Confessor, Theodore of Kythera and Dounale-Stephen) tended subsequently to abandon their wives and children and live in a succession of distant monasteries. As a result family cults for male saints are found only rarely in the middle Byzantine period: one can point, for example, to Philaretos the Merciful⁴⁵ in the 8th century, or Sabas the Younger in the 10th, or to uncle-nephew pairings such as Plato of Sakkoudion and Theodore of Stoudios. The memory of most holy men, however, was perpetuated by their monastic disciples rather than by their relatives.

⁴⁵ M.-F. Auzépy has recently stressed the strong emphasis on family in the *vita* of Philaretos which was written by his grandson Niketas; see "De Philarète, de sa famille, et de certains monastères de Constantinople", in *Les saints et leur sanctuaire à Byzance*, edd. C. Jolivet-Lévy, M. Kaplan and J.-P. Sodini (Paris, 1993), 117-149.

[Editor's note: Concerning Demetrios *myroblytes* (p. 62, above) the following piece of information may be added. In one of the collections of miracles of St Eugenios by John Lazaropoulos there is a story in which *myron* from St Demetrios' in Thessalonike is brought to a sick man in Trebizond by a monk travelling to Jerusalem; see the edition by J. O. Rosenqvist, *The Hagiographic Dossier of St Eugenios of Trebizond in Codex Athous Dionysiou 154* (Uppsala, 1996), p. 300-304, and cf. Commentary on p. 431. The patient is brother of a certain abbot Ephraim who may be dated with reasonable certainty in the late 9th and early 10th c. This miracle might well be the oldest piece of evidence for the *myron* of St Demetrios. It could then possibly indicate that Demetrios in fact antedates Theodora in the capacity of *myroblytes*.]

ST ANDREW, JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER,
AND THE SLAVS OF PATRAS

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In chapter 49 of his *De administrando imperio*, Constantine Porphyrogenetos explains to the reader why some Peloponnesian Slavs have been subjected to the metropolis of Patras.¹ This is the first of the chapters concerning the internal affairs of the empire, as announced at chapter 48, l. 22-27. Instead of a regular title starting with the preposition *περί*, this chapter is qualified, most unusually, as a "writ" (*γραφή*), presumably because of its special "literary" characteristics, no doubt its hagiographic nature. According to some scholars, this information derives from a document that Emperor Nikephoros I gave to the metropolis of Patras;² according to others, it hearkens back to a hagiographical legend, which came down to Constantine orally, and may have been invented or elaborated considerably later than the events mentioned therein, possibly at the time of Leo VI.³

The story goes as follows: under Emperor Nikephoros I, the Slavs revolted, attacked the houses of their Greek neighbours and, with the support of some Arabs from Africa, went on to attack and plunder Achaia (by which I understand the village of Kato Achagia, to the west of Patras, and not the long forgotten Roman province of Achaia⁴). They

¹ I quote the text of the 2nd edition by Gy. Moravesik & R. J. H. Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio* (Washington, D.C., 1967); see also vol. II, *Commentary* (London, 1962). The bibliography concerning this chapter is vast and will not be repeated here, except for the individual publications quoted in the footnotes. For a general survey of the problems and of the scholarly literature, see the commentary to this chapter by G. Litavrin, in *Konstantin Bagrjanarodnyj, Ob Upravlenii imperiej* (Moscow, 1989), 427 ff.

² O. Kresten, "Zur Echtheit des *στυλλίου* des Kaisers Nikephoros I. für Patras", *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 19 (1977), 15-78.

³ P. Lemerle, "La Chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie: le contexte historique et légendaire", *REB* 21 (1963), 5-49, esp. 37 ff.

⁴ See *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, ed. J. Nesbitt & N. Oikonomides, 2 (Washington, D.C., 1994), 2.23 and 2.23.1.

then laid siege to the city of Patras, whose inhabitants, oppressed by hunger, considered surrendering; but first they sent an emissary to see if the Byzantine army was coming from Corinth. No relief force was in sight, but the emissary, thanks to the intervention of St Andrew, accidentally gave the signal to the contrary, which so emboldened them that they made a sally and routed their besiegers with the help of the saint himself, who manifested himself as an invincible horseman chasing the enemy. The Slavs took refuge in St Andrew's church, of all places, which was outside the walls, and were eventually ordered through an imperial *sigillion*, to be subject to the metropolis of Patras, which they still did in the 10th century. These events have been dated c. 805.

The legendary character of the story is obvious. But this need not mean that the narrative of events does not contain any truth. That they are first mentioned in a text written 150 years after the fact is the only reason for questioning their veracity. Similar information is found in even later texts, including an official letter of Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos and the holy synod from the year 1084.⁵ But of course, all these traditions are subject to doubt, because they are transmitted by sources considerably later than the events. On the other hand, in his excellent study of Nikephoros I's *sigillion* for Patras, Kresten has identified phrases which could have come directly from an imperial decree and which refer to the saint's miraculous intervention in terms very similar to those used by Justinian II when referring to St Demetrios of Thessalonica.⁶

There is, however, an earlier source for these events, published recently and not studied, to my knowledge, with respect to the historical information that it contains.⁷ This is a liturgical canon for St Andrew, written by a poet named Joseph, as announced in the acrostichis. This must be Joseph the Hymnographer, a Greek-speaking poet from Sicily, one of the best of his time, who lived most of his life in Constantinople and died in 886. His authorship of the canon cannot be questioned as the acrostichis, composed of a twelve-syllable verse followed by the poet's first name, is typical of this poet.

⁵ V. Grumel, *Les registres des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople* I/3 (Chalcedon, 1947), No. 938.

⁶ Kresten, "Zur Echtheit des *σχιλλιον*", 39 ff.

⁷ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, III. *Canones Novembrii*, ed. A. Komninos (Rome, 1972), 545-553.

It may have been the second of a series of eight canons (seven of which are lost) that the poet wrote for this saint, as it is said in the sets of eight numbered canons for *δευτερος*; it is true that Joseph wrote Joseph's canon could be second to a pre-existing one concerning the apostle, which was called *πρωτος* in its own acrostichis, and which was written by the monk John, who lived before Joseph.⁸ Or, less likely, by other poets to St Andrew are also known: the first is the work of a poet called Andrew, the second, anonymous, is composed in twelve syllable verse.¹⁰ Another poem to St Andrew was written in the 12th century by a certain Nikephoros.¹¹ Other, later poems to St Andrew are mentioned by K. Triantaphyllou.¹²

In most hymnographic texts, St Andrew is glorified for his apostolic work, the qualities of his speeches that converted pagans into Christians, his divine rhetoric, and converting the nations in various parts of the world; he is also glorified for his martyrdom on an X-shaped cross.¹³ These are the usual exploits attributed to St Andrew in his Lives and in his Synaxarium. But in Joseph the Hymnographer's text, together with all the above, we find additional qualities of the saint, unknown to the other hagiographical and hymnographical texts. It should be remembered that all that follows has to be dated before the death of the poet, which occurred no later than 886 and likely some years before. We shall see that it was written much earlier.

(a) Joseph's text is written on behalf of a clergy and people particularly devoted to the saint and who request his protection against all "dangers": *ὁ κληρος τε καὶ ποιῖμιον καὶ λαός σου μέτριος ἀξιωθέντες, ἄγιε, χρηματίσαι ἀναβοῶμεν σοι· "ἐκ παντοίων κινδύνων ἡμᾶς φύλαττε".*¹⁴ And later: *λαόν σου καὶ ποιῖμιον.*¹⁵

(b) This clergy and people could be living in a place once visited by St Andrew, and for this reason declare that they prostrate themselves on

⁸ *Analecta Hymnica*, 636.

⁹ This is the canon that appears in the Menaion of November (Athens, 1973), 214 ff. On the poet John the Monk, see N. B. Tomadakes, *Βυζαντινὴ Ὑμνογραφία καὶ Ποίησις*, II (Athens, 1965), 214.

¹⁰ *Analecta Hymnica*, 530-537, 538-544.

¹¹ K. Triantaphyllou, "Ὁ ἐκ Πατρῶν ποιητὴς Νικηφόρος (18' αἰ.)", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 77 (1978/79), 199-209, esp. 204-206.

¹² K. Triantaphyllou, *Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῶν Πατρῶν*, 2nd ed. (Patras, 1980), 20.

¹³ Cf. *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, I (Rome, 1961), 1094-1113.

¹⁴ *Analecta Hymnica*, 546.

¹⁵ *Analecta Hymnica*, 550.

his very footsteps: καὶ προσκυλινδοῦμαι σου τοῖς θείοις ἵχνεσιν.¹⁶

(c) This clergy and people have access to the saint's tomb, which produces visible *myron* that perfumes the souls: μύρον αἰσθητῶς ὁ τάφος σου πηγάζει εὐωδιάζον τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.¹⁷

(d) The clergy and people were saved by St Andrew and implore his further protection from life's tribulations and from the revolt of the savage barbarians: Λιμένα σε σωτηρίας εὐρόντες, ἀπόστολε, εὐχαῖς σου ῥυσθείμεν ζάλης παθῶν τε καὶ θλίψεων καὶ ἐπαναστάσεως τῶν ἀνημέρων βαρβάρων, ἀξιόγαστε.¹⁸

(e) St Andrew, using the invincible force of divine salvation (= the cross), has destroyed tens of thousands of enemies; he is now asked (by the clergy and people) to keep them unharmed from enemies and from wickedness, and to protect them whenever necessary: Ἰσχὺν ἀπροσμάχητον, Ἀνδρέα, ἐπαγόμενος τὸ σωτήριον ὄπλον τοῦ παντοκράτορος ὤλεσας ἐχθρῶν μυριάδας, ὧν καὶ ἡμᾶς τῆς κακίας ῥῦσαι ἀτρώτους, ἀπήμονας συντηρῶν ἡμᾶς πάντοτε.¹⁹

(f) St Andrew is asked to intervene with Christ in order to subdue the large army of the Arabs: στρατὸν πολυάριθμον Ἀγαρηνῶν κατάβαλε, τὸν Χριστὸν ἱκετεύων, Ἀνδρέα πάνσοφε.²⁰

It is obvious that this canon was written for the clergy and the inhabitants of the city of Patras, St Andrew's city *par excellence*, where he had preached and, according to tradition, suffered martyrdom and been buried. His relics were removed to Constantinople and placed in the church of the Holy Apostles in 357. But his tomb remained in Patras, near the basilica of the saint, where it was then, and is still shown today.²¹ All this coincides completely with the narrative in texts (a)–(c) above. Thus, we must consider that our text was written for the inhabitants of that city — or, rather, to fulfill a commission of the metropolis of Patras.

Text (e) refers to a military victory that St Andrew achieved for Patras in a miraculous way. As Patras was always far from frontiers where war was endemic, it is hard to avoid identifying the miraculous victory mentioned in the poem with the one recorded in ch. 49 of the *De administrando imperio*, if only because this is the only instance where St

¹⁶ *Analecta Hymnica*, 549.

¹⁷ *Analecta Hymnica*, 551.

¹⁸ *Analecta Hymnica*, 547.

¹⁹ *Analecta Hymnica*, 552.

²⁰ *Analecta Hymnica*, 553.

²¹ Cf. *ODB*, 3, 1597–1598.

Andrew is represented as a military saint. The existence of a second similar instance cannot be excluded, but seems unlikely. After all, from the methodological point of view, the needless multiplication of the miraculous interventions of one saint should be avoided, especially if they do not follow a usual pattern.²²

Moreover, the poet asks for the saint's support against some barbarians who had revolted — obviously because previously they had been under Byzantine rule (text d). This is a threat contemporary with the period when the poet was writing. Here again, in the neighbourhood of Patras it can concern only the Peloponnesian Slavs, who were regarded as barbarians by the Greeks, and who revolted once c. 805 and again during the joint reign of Emperors Theophilos and his son Michael III, i.e. between 840 and 842. This second revolt of the Slavs was successfully resisted and subdued by the *strategos* Theoktistos Bryennios, probably in 842, certainly not much later.²³ Joseph's text can refer only to this second revolt, as the first one took place well before his birth.

Finally, there is a text (f) speaking of an Arab threat. It is true that this threat is almost a topos in 9th- and 10th-century texts, when the main military effort of Byzantium was directed towards withstanding the Arab onslaught on land and sea. It is conceivable that such prayers could be sung in Patras in the hope that they would bring a Byzantine victory on the eastern frontier. But not necessarily: it is equally possible that the poet (and his patrons from Patras) were thinking of Arab raids against the western shores of the Peloponnese, in their own neighbourhood. One such raid, made in collaboration with the revolted Slavs, is attested in 805. In 841 Joseph the Hymnographer himself, while attempting to cross to Italy, fell into the hands of Cretan Arabs and spent one year in captivity. Several other such raids against western Peloponnese and the Ionian islands are attested in the 9th century.²⁴ Our text could refer to one of them.

The life and the work of Joseph the Hymnographer has been studied

²² The saint is mentioned as the protector of Patras in the later poems by Triantaphyllou, *Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῶν Πατρῶν*, 20.

²³ The revolt and the ensuing conflicts are described in *De administrando imperio*, ch. 30, l. 1-25; the events are dated by Jenkins in *Commentary*, 125, cf. Litavrin, 434. Ch. 30 contains a chronicle of the Slav revolts of the Peloponnese in the 9th and 10th centuries. As the next revolt mentioned therein dates from the reign of Romanos I (921-944), it cannot be taken into consideration here for obvious chronological reasons.

²⁴ Cf. D. Zakynthinos, "Ἀγῶς Βάρβαρος", *Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Κ. Ἀποστόλου* (Athens, 1967), 446 ff.

in a doctoral dissertation,²⁵ the contents of which have subsequently been substantially improved upon.²⁶ Joseph, born in Sicily some time between 810 and 816, left his homeland for the Peloponnese, then went to Thessalonica where he became a monk, was ordained priest, and went to Constantinople. In 841 he was sent as an ambassador to Pope Gregory IV, but on his way he was caught by Arab pirates and was taken to prison in Crete. Liberated one year later, he returned to Constantinople, where he lived and wrote most of his poems — except for a period of exile in Cherson — until he died in 883 or 886.

The death of Joseph is a secure *terminus ante* for the composition of our poem. It is conceivable that a delegation of the inhabitants of Patras or the metropolitan himself came to the famous poet and commissioned the poem (or poems, if we accept the hypothesis of the eight canons). This could have been done any time before Joseph's death. But the internal evidence points to a rather early date: 840–842 is the revolt of the Peloponnesian Slavs, and at the same time a raid of Arab pirates is attested. And the poet makes reference to those events as though they were contemporary with him.

Moreover, at the same time, in 841, Joseph was travelling west towards Italy. We know that in the 9th century travel from Constantinople to the west had become complicated because of the presence of unruly Slavs in the Balkans and Arab pirates in all waters. The Via Egnatia, already difficult at the Strymon pass, was not a practicable route to the west of Thessalonica. To take the boat to Italy, travellers had to go south via the Tempe to the gulf of Corinth, to Corinth itself or Naupaktos or further west. This itinerary was followed by Joseph himself on his way from Palermo to Thessalonica, as well as by St Elias the Younger and by Liutprand of Cremona in the 10th century. It is also mentioned in several passages of the Life of St Luke.²⁷ Then travellers took the boat for as short a crossing as possible to Italy. Patras is known to have been a stop for foreigners coming to Byzantium or sailing away.²⁸

²⁵ E. Tomadakes, *Ἰωσήφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος. Βίος καὶ ἔργον* (Athens, 1971).

²⁶ D. Stiernon, "La vie et l'œuvre de S. Joseph l'Hymnographe. À propos d'une publication récente", *REB* 31 (1973), 243–266.

²⁷ A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patriarchae pertinentia*, II (St Petersburg, 1901), 3; Liutprand, *Legatio*, paragr. 58; other texts I put together in "The First Century of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas", *DOP* 46 (1992), 245–256, esp. 254. N. Oikonomides, *The Byzantine Via Egnatia* (forthcoming).

²⁸ *De administrando imperio*, ch. 49, l. 66–67; *Vita di S. Elia il Giovane*, ed. G. Rossi-Tarbbi (Palermo, 1962), 56.

And here unfolds a hypothesis: in 841 Joseph could well have travelled by land to Patras to take the boat to Italy.²⁹ During his stop there, in a city where he may have found acquaintances from the past, he could have, on his own initiative or, rather, on commission, written the canon that we have studied. Then he went away to his capture. We can say with certainty that the two chronological indications provided by the text, the Slav revolt and the Arab raid in the region of Patras, were both attested in 841 from sources independent from Joseph's canon. Of course, all this could as well be the result of a coincidence: possible, but not very likely.

Be that as it may, what is certain is that the Slav revolt and siege of Patras in c. 805 is now attested by a source much closer to the events than what was previously thought. This was obviously not a later invention, but reflected some real, albeit exaggerated and mystified, facts, which were common knowledge to the inhabitants of Patras. The legend of St Andrew as protector of the city was by then in full evolution, strongly resembling the model of St Demetrios, the protector of Thessalonica against the Slavs — so much so, that in Joseph's canon we find the one and only known mention of *myron* issuing from St Andrew's tomb, as this was currently happening at the tomb of his Thessalonian counterpart.³⁰ It is certain that all this was good propaganda for the new metropolis of Patras, created in 806 with three suffragans, Methone, Korone and Lakedaimonia.³¹

Now, as the events are mentioned in a legendary or panegyric context, their dimensions are clearly exaggerated. The *De administrando imperio*, the poem of Joseph, and the later, synodal decision of Patriarch Nicholas III, all describe a major operation in which a whole nation was crushed and subdued by the intervention of the saint; yet in the *De administrando imperio* it is also said that this nation attacked only the region of Patras, was defeated by one sally of the inhabitants of the city, took refuge at the saint's church outside the walls, and was afterwards put in

²⁹ The biographer does not specify where he took the boat from: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta*, 6.

³⁰ A spring of holy water (ἁγίασμα) is attested near St Andrew's sarcophagus, but nothing is said of *myron*: S. Thomopoulos, *Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως Πατρῶν*, 2nd ed. (Patras, 1950), 206 ff.; Triantaphyllou, *Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῶν Πατρῶν*, 22. — On the other hand, it must be noted that the *myron* of St Demetrios is attested late in the sources (c. 10th c.) but it is not impossible that its cult had appeared earlier (8th or 9th c.). [Editor's note: Cf. A.-M. Talbot's article, p. 49 ff., above.]

³¹ V. Laurent, "La date de l'érection des métropoles de Patras et de Lacédémone", *REB* 21 (1963), 129-141.

servitude and made subject to the metropolis of Patras — all pieces of information showing that the numbers involved were not as vast as the hagiographers have us believe. The events of c. 805 certainly prompted the elevation of Patras to the rank of metropolis and served as a pretext for giving to the metropolitan a number of peasant servants, taken from an ethnic group of the region. But their number was certainly not very high, as their main task was to provide hospitality to imperial officials and ambassadors passing through, thereby relieving the metropolis of this obligation. What happened in c. 805 seems to have been a local revolt of people already made subject to Byzantium, no doubt as a consequence of major campaigns, such as those of Staurakios in 783³² or of the *strategos* of Peloponnese named Skleros around the year 800.³³ On this point, my evaluation of the situation in the North-West of the Peloponnese in the early 9th century differs sharply from that of other specialists.³⁴

What happened in the Peloponnese during the 8th century is vaguely known to us from the Chronicle "of Monembasia", the reliability of which has been challenged. Yet, it certainly contains reliable, if not always precise, information, which is corroborated by a wide range of sources. For example, what it says about the withdrawal of Greeks to safer places, as when the inhabitants of Argos went to live on the small island of Orovi,³⁵ is now confirmed by finds of 8th- and early 9th-century lead seals, showing that a new bishopric was then created on this small island of the Argolic gulf and a military administration installed.³⁶

Despite a dearth of sources, all manner of texts may nevertheless prove helpful to historical research, including even ecclesiastical hymnography.

³² Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), 456.

³³ *Cronaca di Monembasia*, ed. I. Dujčev (Palermo, 1976), 18-20.

³⁴ For example, M. Weithmann, *Die slavische Bevölkerung auf der griechischen Halbinsel* (Munich, 1978), 128-129.

³⁵ *Cronaca di Monembasia*, 12.

³⁶ V. Pennas, "The Island of Orovi in the Argolid: Bishopric and Administrative Center", *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 4 (1994), 163-173.

THE GREAT PURGE OF 843: A RE-EXAMINATION

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For modern scholarship that tends to regard the entire history of the Byzantine Church in the 9th century from the point of view of the "moderates-vs.-rigorists" conception, the reign of the Patriarch Methodios I (843–847) has always represented a stumbling-block. On the one hand, one can hardly call into question the association of Methodios with the party of Tarasios–Nikephoros, but on the other, the politics pursued by him was something a zealot of old could only dream of.¹ As I hope to demonstrate, it is in fact from the "moderates-vs.-rigorists" mythology itself that much of the obscurity and confusion derives, whereas the sources do provide enough material for a coherent, if not extremely detailed, reconstruction of the events and intentions. In this paper I will deal with just one, though very important, aspect of Methodios' activity as patriarch: the expulsion of the Iconoclast clergy in 843.

It seems reasonable to start with the problem whose very existence — as will later be seen — looks puzzling, to put it mildly, i.e. the problem regarding the approximate number of prelates deposed after 843, from which the actual extent of the reprisals can be evaluated. The generally accepted opinion is that this number was considerable, judging by the lack of suitable candidates, recorded by the sources,² to fill all the vacancies that became available simultaneously. It was only J. Gouillard who ventured to produce a more precise figure: "*Méthode se résigna donc à une épuration générale, qui frappa deux à trois mille clercs*" (italics mine).³ To that J. Darrouzès, though accepting this as a hypothesis,

¹ As clearly stated, for example, by P. Karlin-Hayter, "Gregory of Syracuse, Ignatios and Photios", in *Iconoclasm. Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, edd. A. A. Bryer & J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), 141–145, esp. 141. See also her references, *ibid.*

² *Vita Methodii*, PG 100, 1257C.

³ J. Gouillard, "Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie, texte et commentaire", *TM* 2 (1967), 1–316, esp. 127, note 73 (reference to *Vita Methodii*, PG 100, 1257A–B).

remarks: " ... l'auteur renvoie seulement à la Vie de Méthode ... , où le nombre avancé n'est pas mentionné; il ne se trouve pas non plus, que je sache, dans une autre source."⁴ The part of the *vita* to which Gouillard refers contains no figures indeed. But at the end of the same text the following passage is found:

"O thou who hast offered to God an even holier sacrifice than Elijah, in that thou didst not slay two hundred or four hundred priests of shame as he did, but hindered and prevented twenty thousand or more priests who were worthy of real shame from impiously officiating, as they were ashamed to confess the truthful incarnation of God the Word ... "⁵

This is astonishing. The mere number quoted in this passage is so large — and for reasons not to be expounded here I believe that it must be taken very seriously — that it should have precluded much of the discussion on the categories of clergy that were affected by the purge. In fact, we are dealing with an unprecedented dismissal of maybe the majority of Byzantine ecclesiastics, from bishops down to humble parish priests! This must certainly be kept in mind before we proceed to the examination of other details.

The body of the Byzantine Iconoclast clergy in 843 consisted of two large groups: some had been ordained before 815 by the Orthodox Patriarchs Tarasios (probably very few of these were alive by that time) and Nikephoros as well as other Orthodox bishops, others after 815 by the three Iconoclast Patriarchs Theodotos Kassiteras (815–821), Antony Kassymatas (821–837) and John the Grammarian (837–843) as well as other Iconoclast bishops. The existence of some nonagenarians of pre-Tarasian ordination⁶ which is so important for Grumel's interpretation,⁷ is extremely doubtful and in any case irrelevant. Although the figure "more than twenty thousand" suggests, to my mind, that both groups were affected, some of the evidence concerning the first group will be investi-

⁴ J. Darrouzès, "Le patriarche Méthode contre les iconoclastes et les Stoudites", *REB* 45 (1987), 15–57, esp. 16, note 4.

⁵ *Vita Methodii*, PG 100, 1260D–1261A: ὅτι τῆς Ἡλίου ἱερωτέραν θυσίαν προσαναγαγὼν Θεῷ, καὶ οὐ διακοσίους καὶ τετρακοσίους, ὡς αὐτός, ἀνελὼν ἱερεῖς αἰσχύνῃς, ἀλλὰ δις μυρίους καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τῆς ὄντως αἰσχύνῃς ἀξιῶν ἱερεῖς καλίσσας τε καὶ καθείρξας δυσσεβῶν (read δυσσεβῶς) ἱερᾶσθαι ἐπαισχυνομένους ὁμολογεῖν τὴν ἀψευδῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σάρκωσιν ...

⁶ To fulfil the canonical requirements, they had to be at least 30 years of age before 784.

⁷ V. Grumel, "La politique religieuse du patriarche saint Méthode", *EO* 34 (1935), 385–401, esp. 388, 391.

gated later. Anyhow, the deposition of these people *en masse* was by no means an easy undertaking. One major obstacle was obvious — it was the precedent of Nicaenum II which accepted the entire Iconoclast clergy added that heresy did not *per se* constitute a sufficient canonical ground for deposition of a priest or bishop, if he returned to Orthodoxy. The other obstacle can be conceived as an unwillingness of the government of Theodora to destabilize society by such extraordinary measures. Let us now see how Methodios and his associates managed to overcome these problems.

First of all, the patriarch orchestrated a propaganda campaign to prepare the public opinion. Although later sources consider his actions perfectly legitimate and praiseworthy,⁸ the situation during Methodios' reign seems to have been different. We have no testimony in the sources of any opposition specifically to the measure in question (i.e. the mass expulsion of Iconoclast prelates) — except a short notice by Sabas, the biographer of St Joannikios,⁹ which will be dealt with later — probably because it would have been a little awkward to act as an advocate for lapsed clerics. However, at least three preserved texts by the patriarch himself (Fragments 1 and 2 in the collection of Darrouzès¹⁰ and the letter to the Patriarch of Jerusalem¹¹) show that Methodios had repeatedly to defend his position.¹² Darrouzès' interpretation of Fragment 1 seems to me a bit strange: "Le patriarche répond à une objection contre le pardon accordé à certains (de membres du clergé) et au peuple en général et il prévoit que cette objection viendra de ceux qu'il a ordonnés lui-même; l'acte accompli par l'autorité légitime a reçu l'approbation de moines réputés qui n'appartiennent pas à la hiérarchie: Syméon, Hilarion, Joannice."¹³ Then the scholar identifies these "opposants" with those who blamed Methodios for ordaining allegedly unworthy people. To present my point of view I have to reproduce the text with only minor abridgements:

⁸ Cf. *Vita Ignatii*, PG 105, 500C-D; *Vita Methodii*, loc. cit.

⁹ *Vita Ioannicii* a. Saba, ed. J. van den Gheyn, *AASS Nov.* II:1, 332-384, esp. 372B.

¹⁰ Darrouzès, "Le patriarche Méthode", 54.

¹¹ In J.-B. Pitra, *Iuris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta*, II, (Rome, 1868), 355-357.

¹² Those who still believe in the "oikonomia-vs.-akribeia" theory should pay more attention to the fact that Tarasios and Methodios use the same term, *oikonomia*, to justify exactly the opposite actions; see *Testament* (Darrouzès, "Le patriarche Méthode", fr. 7,4, p. 56.).

¹³ Darrouzès, "Le patriarche Méthode", 17.

"Therefore, if those who have partaken of the Spirit that we possess, through imposition of the hands and invocation of God, would object to what has already been said and to many other arguments, rejecting their acceptance and foreseeing that, in case this be dared, the people will partly fall back, and solemnly testifying that this could go even farther, they would deserve to be preferred as our own men to strangers, as unscathed parts to damaged members, for the grace belongs not only to us who have been led to the altar and stand by it, but already ... those in the desert ... and those in the city ... , hegumeni, stylites and ascetics ... are of the same opinion and suggest it and communicate it in the most benevolent way, as the great Joannikios and glorious Symeon and Hilarion ... " ¹⁴

My way of understanding this passage is the following: after an exposition (not preserved) of the arguments in favour of acceptance of the heretical clerics Methodios says that if people of his own (i.e. a perfectly legitimate) ordination think otherwise, their opinion should prevail, all the more so as respected ascetics without episcopal rank also support the same view, i.e. that Iconoclast prelates should not be accepted in the clergy. The existence of opposition to Methodios' standpoint can in this case only be construed from his need to argue for it. The same is true for Fragment 2: contrary to Darrouzès' opinion,¹⁵ there is no question of opposition, for the patriarch simply pretends that he acted as he did because he was pressed by the common mood (*πάν γένος καὶ πάντα ἄξια ... οὐ συνεχώρουν*) and the suggestions of St Joannikios. That these suggestions were carried out by Methodios is clear from the phrase *καὶ πιστεύσαντες τότε οὐ κατασχύνθημεν ἀρτίως*. It is noteworthy that the patriarch was careful enough not to present himself to his compatriots as the initiator of the purge. He preferred to pretend that, despite his wish to reinstate the repentant priests,¹⁶ he had to choose between former Iconoclasts who wanted to keep their ranks and the wide Orthodox circles that threatened to break the communion with the Church if the lapsed clergy were accepted.

¹⁴ Ibid., 54: Οἱ τοίνυν ἐκ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν Πνεύματος διὰ χειροθεσίας καὶ ἐπικλήσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐληφότες, εἰ συναντιλέγοιεν τοῖς ἤδη εἰρημένοις καὶ ἑτέροις πλείοσι, τὴν δαχὴν τούτων ἀποστρεφόμενοι καὶ τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ, εἰ τοῦτο τολμηθεῖη, ἐς τὸ ὅπισω ἀνατροπὴν ἐκ μέρους κατιδόντες καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον διήκειν φοβητὶς ἐπιμαρτυρόμενοι, ὅτι οἱ γε ὅρα εἶεν προτιμηθῆναι ὡς οἰκεῖοι τῶν ξένων, ὡς μέλη ἀλώβητα τῶν λελωβημένων ὁρθοῦν, ἐπεὶ οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀχθεῖσιν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ συμπαραστέσιν ἢ χάρις ἐπεχωρίσασιν, ἀλλ' ἤδη ... τοῖς ἐν ἐρήμῳ τε ... καὶ τοῖς ἐν πόλει ..., ἡγουμένους τε καὶ στυλῖταις καὶ ἀσκηταῖς ... τὸ ταῦτό δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτὸ παρακαλοῦσι καὶ δηλοῦσι εὐνοϊκώτατα, ὡς ὁ μέγας Ἰωαννίκιος καὶ ὁ κλεινὸς Συμεὼν καὶ Ἰλαρίων ...

¹⁵ Ibid., 17.

¹⁶ Cf. the Testament, fr. 7.1.

Two points deserve special attention in this context: the actual role played by Methodios and the function performed by St Joannikios. It is very difficult to believe that such an important political action as the wholesale deposition of the Iconoclast clergy could be imposed on a person of Methodios' standing and esteem against his will. It is even less probable that hermits and stylites like Joannikios and Symeon who had never had anything to do with politics, even with ecclesiastical politics, would initiate this action on their own. Since no source mentions an involvement of Theodora (if it existed, it would certainly have been extolled as a pious deed), a government initiative is also out of question. Considering the patriarch's relations to the Studites, it is clear that he could have taken their advice only if it had suited his own aims. Finally, Fragment 1 implies that the deposition was demanded by Methodios' own people — which means that behind the whole affair was no one but the patriarch himself.

In fact, Methodios did not conceal his views even before the restoration of images. Here is an eloquent passage from his *Oration on the Holy Icons*, written before 843: "And let us not separate ourselves from our fathers, lest the coming generation anathematizes and exhumes us — and indeed the ends of the earth will not be of any help to us".¹⁷ There is a barely concealed threat in these words. On the other hand, in his *Testament* the patriarch warns "the brethren, all cities and also foreigners" not to restore any of the former Iconoclasts to priesthood. But the best evidence confirming that references to "the brethren", to Symeon and Joannikios etc., were nothing but a pretext used to explain why the venerable precedent of Nicaenum II was this time ignored, is provided by Methodios' letter to the Patriarch of Jerusalem.¹⁸ Apparently this was the second letter.¹⁹ To the first the addressee had replied that the clerics ordained by Tarasios and Nikephoros should be accepted back after due penitence. From the discourse that follows it is

¹⁷ Methodios, Λόγος περὶ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων, *Čtenija v obščestve ljubitelei dukhovnago prosveščeniija*, 1893, Nov.-Dec., Sec. III, 1-23. I disagree with Grumel who believed it to have been pronounced in 843 as a solemn profession of faith (*Les Régestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople* [Chalcedon, 1936], No. 417), on the following grounds: it is obviously directed to clerics, not to the people (cf. p. 18-19); it singles out the synod of 754 as the chief aim of polemics; it looks much more like an apologetic work, not as a profession of faith. It should be noted that the full text was inaccessible to Grumel.

¹⁸ See above, note 11.

¹⁹ The first is recorded by Grumel, *Régestes*, as No. 419.

clear that Methodios had no intention to do that.²⁰ However, his grounds are completely different from those he employed for "internal use". Instead of recurring to the insistence of "the brethren" he simply states that he could not do what his correspondent suggested because the people in question did not repent properly. Now, according to Eastern canonical law, it is entirely the local bishop's responsibility to determine the sincerity of an individual's repentance. Since Jerusalem is too far away, the patriarch has no choice but to believe his Constantinopolitan counterpart. We, however, need not do the same. The very fact that one and the same action is justified by the same person in two hardly compatible ways confirms that this person is aware of the real reason for undertaking the move but does not deem it expedient to reveal it.

One of the most important roles in the propaganda campaign orchestrated by Methodios was assigned to St Joannikios, a hermit with prophetic authority who lived on Mt Olympos. The detailed story of the support provided by Joannikios to Methodios has been preserved in the two biographies of the hermit, one written by Peter, maybe between 3 November 846 and 14 June 847,²¹ and a later one by Sabas. The outward course of events looks quite similar in both *vitae*, but there are also serious discrepancies, so it would be helpful to determine which account is more trustworthy. The plot in both texts develops as follows:

1. After the restoration of images an internal discord erupts among the Orthodox.²²
2. Joannikios sends a letter to Patriarch Methodios, supporting his position.²³
3. Methodios shows the letter to the emperors²⁴ and comes to visit Joannikios.²⁵

²⁰ As rightly noted by Grumel, "La politique", 392. However, Grumel infers without any evidence that the prelates in question were those who initially refused to embrace Orthodoxy but later changed their mind.

²¹ *Vita Ioannicii* a. Petro, ed. J. van den Gheyn, *AASS* Nov. II:1, 384-435. Peter does not mention the death of Patriarch Methodios, allegedly predicted by Joannikios. See C. Mango, "The Two Lives of St. Ioannikios and the Bulgarians", *Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students* = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983), 393-404, esp. 394, note 5.

²² Peter: 431B-C; Sabas: 372B.

²³ Peter: 431C; Sabas: 372B-374.

²⁴ Peter: 432A; Sabas: 376A.

²⁵ Peter: *ibid.*

4. Joannikios addresses a solemn oration to a large gathering of people, including bishops and hegumeni.²⁶

The difference lies in points 1 and 4. Peter says that the reason for the discord was the Studites' hostility towards Methodios, and that in his speech Joannikios condemned and anathematized the enemies of the patriarch, unambiguously identifying them as the Studites and their allies. Sabas maintains that the strife was over the acceptance of formerly Iconoclast clergy (without making clear Methodios' initial point of view), and that Joannikios proposed a concrete solution to the patriarch, that is the mass deposition. Sabas dissociates point 4 from the story and makes the oration simply a lengthy profession of faith.

Now, Sabas obviously used the earlier *vita* by Peter, and it is well known that he eliminated from his own narrative all the venomous attacks on the Studites. It is beyond doubt that he did so not for the sake of historical truth but because in the circumstances of his time they looked embarrassing and unacceptable. This operation left Sabas without the reason for the controversy in which his hero was to support St Methodios. So the hagiographer's next move was very natural: he replaced the real substance of the dispute with the most harmless and irrelevant one for the moment when he was writing. In doing so he did not, of course, use his own imagination, but rather a piece of reliable historical information (for the problem of the Iconoclast clergy did constitute a subject of discussion in Methodios' time), so his account is still a valuable source. However, following E. von Dobschütz,²⁷ I think that it makes no sense to use Sabas' version for the reconstruction of the events, as we possess a genuine contemporary description undistorted by political correctness.

For our present purpose, however, this is a negative result — Peter provides no information on the purge. We are therefore left with Darrouzès' Fragment 2, where Methodios says:

"We also know the most truthful appeal that the saint of the desert made to me and to those accompanying me to the place two years ago: 'if you accept the heretics as ministers and priests, expect that through them you introduce into the Church not only Judaism, but also Paganism'."²⁸

²⁶ Peter: 432B-D; Sabas: 376A-378A.

²⁷ E. von Dobschütz, "Methodius und die Studiten", *BZ* 18 (1909), 41-105, esp. 99-100. Cf. Mango, "The Two Lives of St. Ioannikios", 404.

²⁸ Darrouzès, "Le patriarche Méthode", 54: "Ἐγνώμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς συνταράκταις μοι κατὰ χάριν λαλῆθαι παρὰ τοῦ ἱερωτοῦ ἁγίου πρὸ χρόνων ὅτι αὐτὸν ἀληθέστατον προσφώνεται, ὡς· εἰ δέξῃ τοὺς αἰρετικούς λειτουργοὺς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς, οὐ μόνον ἰουδαϊσμόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλληρισμόν δι' αὐτῶν προσέξει τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀτελέσθαι."

I consciously translate "to the place", because Darrouzès in his interpretation tries to solve a non-existent problem. His statement that "la seule visite que Méthode fit à Joannice, selon les deux Vies, se situe juste avant le décès du saint"²⁹ can easily be contested. Here is what Joannikios, according to Peter, says to the patriarch when the latter arrives to Mt Olympos shortly before Joannikios' death:

"I have never dared, my lord, to communicate to you that you should come to my unworthiness — it was your own achievement, when you were called by the Holy Spirit that moves you to visit our unworthiness and to instruct us with virtuous words of exhortation. But this time, since a great need forced me, I myself, moved by God, set forth to write to my holy lord that you take the toil to come to my boorishness ..."³⁰

As appears unambiguously from this passage, it was after a written invitation that Methodios came to visit Joannikios this last time, whereas on previous occasion(s) he did it on his own initiative. It may thus be concluded that in 843, before proceeding to the irreversible deposition of the Iconoclasts, Methodios paid a visit to Joannikios and secured his support for the planned action. The patriarch had to make it clear from the very beginning that the deposition was permanent, in order to immediately fill the vacancies with his own men. Therefore he resorted to the prophetic authority of Joannikios, who duly predicted that former Iconoclasts would be no good as clerics even when the term of penitence was over. Hence the word *πιστεύσαντες* in Fragment 2. This conduct was quite natural for Methodios, who was generally very fond of prophecies.³¹

The propagandistic measures described above were skillful and efficient, but they were not enough. Valid and plausible canonical grounds had to be found as well. It is here that the distinction between various groups of clerics played an important role. As follows from the letter to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, there was no discussion about the prelates of

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

³⁰ *Vita Ioanniciū*, a. Petro, 432A: Ἐγὼ μὲν, δέσποτα, οὐδέποτε τετόλμηκά σοι δηλοποιῆσαι πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ἐλθεῖν ἀναξιοτήτα· σὺν δὲ ἦν τὸ κατόρθωμα, ἡρίκει ἐκέλευσο παρὰ τοῦ κινουμένου σε παναγίου Πνεύματος τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀναξιοτήτα ἐπισκέπτεσθαι [note the present infinit.], καὶ λόγοις προτροπῆς τοῖς εἰς ἀρετὴν νοθεύειν ἡμᾶς. Νῦν δὲ, μεγάλης ἀνάγκης βιασάσης με, θεόθεν κινηθεὶς αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὡρμήθην ἐπιστεῖλαι τὸ λέγειν μοι δυσπότη πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν κοπωθῆναι ἀγροικότητα ...

³¹ See, for instance, J. Gouillard, "La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes", *TM* 10 (1987), 1-101, esp. 39-41, ch. 13. Methodios, *Vita Theophanis*, ed. V. V. Lатышев, *Zapiski Russkoijskoj Akad. Nauk po istor.-filol. otdel.*, sér. 8, XIII:4 (1918), 26, 16-20.

post-815 ordination. It is the expulsion of the other group, those ordained by Orthodox bishops, that had to be justified. At this point we inevitably have to deal with the opinion of V. Grumel,³² who insisted that the clerics of Tarasios' and Nikephoros' ordination were left in place if they promptly converted. Although Gouillard has already identified its main weak points,³³ a more thorough criticism is needed. Grumel based his hypothesis on Joannikios' letter to Methodios as it is found in Sabas' *vita*. Since the interpretation of this text is crucial, I reproduce it here with the original Greek *en regard*:

As for the Iconoclast bishops and priests, refuse firmly to accept them in priesthood. Because the great Patriarch Tarasios who is among the saints one time accepted their priesthood by way of economy, when they brought written oaths with an anathema that they would not return to the heresy, and after the same impiety emerged under Leo, those who ... trampled upon their own signatures and anathematized themselves ... or those who were consecrated by them, how can they be regarded as priests by the Christians ...?

Τῶν δὲ εἰκονομάχων ἐπισκόπων καὶ ἱερέων πρὸς ἱερωσύνην οὕτως τὴν δοχὴν ἀπαναίνοιν. Τοῦ γὰρ μεγάλου πατριάρχου Ταρασίου, τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις, τὴν ἱερωσύνην αὐτῶν ἅπαξ οἰκονομικῶς δεξαμένου, λιβελλοὺς ἐπιδιδόντων ἐνόρκους σὺν ἀναθέματι μὴ ὑποστρέψαι ἐν τῇ αἵρεσει, γενομένης πάλιν ἐπὶ Λέοντος τῆς αὐτῆς δυσσεβείας, οἱ τὰ ιδιόχειρα αὐτῶν ... πατήσαντες καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀναθεματίσαντες ... ἢ οἱ ὑπὸ τούτων ἱερωθέντες πῶς ἱεροῦργοὶ παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς λογισθήσονται ... ;

In understanding this passage Grumel follows Niketas Paphlagon who reproduces it in such a way that those who brought their solemn oaths to Tarasios can be identified with the clerics who trampled upon their own signatures under Leo V.³⁴ It seems however that Niketas, who was writing several decades later, simply misread his source. In fact, Sabas borrowed the expression οἱ τὰ ιδιόχειρα αὐτῶν ... πατήσαντες καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀναθεματίσαντες from the *Twelve Chapters* by Patriarch Nikephoros, where it is applied to *all* apostates of 815 (πάντες οἱ νῦν ἀποστατήσαντες), many of whom were ordained by Tarasios or Nikephoros himself.³⁵ So Sabas wants to say that Iconoclast clerics were accepted under Tarasios for one time only and that this did not create a precedent, all

³² Grumel, "La politique", 392-393; cf. *Régestes*, No. 422, No. 435.

³³ Gouillard, "Synodikon", 128.

³⁴ *Vita Ignatii*, PG 105, 500C-D.

³⁵ *Nicephori Capitula duodecim adversus Iconomachos*, in A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, vol. 10 (Rome, 1844), 154. Supplemented from V. Grumel, "Les 'Douze chapitres contre les iconomaques' de Saint Nicéphore de Constantinople", *REB* 17 (1959), 130.

the more so as the persons in question were guilty of perjury. A little further he adds: τῆς δὲ ἱερωσύνης ... αἱ ἔσχατοι εἰκονομάχοι ἀποπέσσωσαν. Those who repented under Tarasios cannot be called ἔσχατοι εἰκονομάχοι; this term obviously designates recent heretics. Gouillard has also observed that it is the same Sabas (along with Nikelas³⁶), who speaks of "une déposition méthodique et aveugle d'un nombre considérable d'iconomaques":³⁷ τοὺς εἰκονομάχους ἅπαντας καθαιρεῖ.³⁸ What is important about this fragment is the information that the Iconoclast prelates of Orthodox ordination were permanently deposed under Methodios on account of perjury! And here a phrase from an anti-Photian collection, which F. Dvornik thought pertained to the excommunication of the Studites, fits in perfectly:³⁹ Ἐὰν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Μεθοδίου, διὰ τὸ παραβῆναι ἐν ἰδιόχειρον, τινὲς καθηρέθησαν· οὐ μόνον οὗτοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ συλλειτουργήσαντες τούτου ...⁴⁰

Now we have to identify the written oaths that the "last Iconoclasts" broke. There is no difficulty here since Gouillard has again shown the way by suggesting a parallel with Patriarch Nikephoros, "qui avait frappé rigoureusement les évêques promus, soit par lui, soit par Tarasios, et coupables d'avoir violé, en 815, l'engagement d'iconodoulie inscrit dans leur profession de foi épiscopale".⁴¹ Gouillard refers only to the *Apologeticus Minor*,⁴² but at least two other valuable sources speak, albeit less directly, of this deposition pronounced by Nikephoros.⁴³ Moreover, two 9th-century sources establish not just a parallel, but a direct connection between Nikephoros' pronouncement and Methodios' action:

³⁶ *Vita Ignatii*, loc. cit.; Μεθόδιος ... καθαιρεῖ δὲ πάντας καὶ κατασπᾶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὅσοι τῷ μύσει τῆς αἵρέσεως ὑπήχθησαν.

³⁷ Gouillard, "Synodikon", 128.

³⁸ *Vita Ioannicii*, a. Saba, 376A. I prefer the reading καθαιρεῖ to van den Gheyn's καταίρει.

³⁹ F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1948), 14, note 4.

⁴⁰ J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XVI, col. 444.

⁴¹ Gouillard, "Synodikon", 128.

⁴² PG 100, 840C ff.

⁴³ Ignatios the Deacon, *Vita Nicephori*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880), 191, 29. Nikephoros about Iconoclast bishops: τῶν μηδὲν ἱερωσύνης ἐπιφερομένων λείψανον. According to *Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio* (in *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker [Bonn, 1842]), 357, 14, Nikephoros calls the newly Iconoclast clerics ἐπίορκους <καὶ> σταυροπάτας.

Niketas Paphlagon: "they were divinely condemned to a complete and permanent thodios".⁴⁴

Patriarch Photios: "so also the wondrous Nikephoros with a prophetic eye barred the entrance into the Church to John and the fellow-leaders of his heresy who had done similar violence to the faith, asserting that, even if they should assume the mask of repentance, their conversion would be unacceptable both to God and to the Church".⁴⁵

This makes one think of the real reason behind the great purge. The most obvious purpose of measures of this kind is usually the need to replace unreliable people with loyal adherents. It seems, however, that this explanation is inapplicable in this case. The sources, especially the *Vita Methodii*, indeed indicate a "blind and methodical" expulsion which left much more vacancies than could be filled with people whom Methodios even knew personally, let alone of proven loyalty. On the other hand, there were persons subsequently closely associated with the patriarch, who nevertheless fell victims of the purge. One eloquent example is Ignatios the Deacon, Metropolitan of Nicaea up to 843. So we have to look elsewhere. The general context of Methodian ecclesiastical policies suggests to me a conclusion that may sound a little paradoxical. The overwhelming concern of Methodios' reign was not reconciliation, nor even the restoration of Orthodoxy.⁴⁶ These aims, as the experience of Nicaenum II had shown, could be much more easily achieved by compromise and dispensation. Instead, it was the vindication of his predecessors that preoccupied the patriarch more than anything else. Methodios staged the transfer of Nikephoros' relics as a triumphant return from

⁴⁴ *Vita Ignatii*, 500D: τούτων μὲν οὖν τελείαν καθαίρειν καὶ διηρεκῇ Νικηφόρος τε ἐπὶ τῷ βίῳ περιῶν ὁ μέγας, καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος θεοβουλευτῶς ὁ ἱερός καταψηφισάμενος Μεθόδιος ...

⁴⁵ *Photii Homiliae*, ed. B. Laourdas (Thessalonike, 1959), *Hom.* 15, p. 141.2-6: ... οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος Νικηφόρος τὴν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσοδὸν ἰωάννη τε καὶ τοῖς συνεξάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς αἵρέσεως τὰ αὐτὰ κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐμπαιρῶν ἡσασί προφητικῶς προαπειτείχισεν ὁμῶς, εἰ καὶ μετανοίας προσωπεῖον ὑπαισέλθουεν, ἀπρόσδεκτον αὐτῶν καὶ Θεῷ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἰσχυρισάμενος. Translation after C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople*, English Transl., Introd. and Comm. (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 246-247.

⁴⁶ Note that Peter in his *Life of Joannikios* cares very little about Iconoclasm; cf. von Dobschütz, "Methodius und die Studiten", 100.

exile,⁴⁷ he demanded that the Studites anathematize everything written against Nikephoros and Tarasios during the past conflicts and punish refusal with excommunication. But first and foremost he accomplished the action which the late Nikephoros had no opportunity to implement: the deposition of those who betrayed the patriarch at the moment of his fateful clash with the imperial power in 815. Thus the message delivered to the Byzantine clergy had to be powerful and convincing: no one should expect to escape punishment for deserting to secular authorities when they assault the Church (represented by the patriarchs). Moreover, it is better to think twice before accepting an ordination from such deserters, for it will not be deemed valid once the legitimate Church leadership is restored. The indiscriminate nature of the deposition was a necessary component of this message, which is why Methodios was not able to make exceptions for people like Ignatios. In fact, before going into exile Nikephoros warned his flock: "even if but very few remain in Orthodoxy and piety, it is they who are the Church".⁴⁸ Methodios just demonstrated that this was meant seriously.

There is one more problem that has to be discussed here. How did Methodios manage to persuade the government to permit the great purge? Theoretically speaking, the authorities must have had serious reservations against such measures, as was shown by Irene's behaviour in 787. Although most of the sources are silent on this matter, there are some extremely obscure hints that may point in the right direction. A late text about the absolution of Emperor Theophilos contains a curious story.⁴⁹ A "faithful God's servant" Arsakios on the divine illumination (*ἐκ θείας ἐλλάμπσεως*) appears (*ἐφάνη*) to Ioannikios and says: "God ... commands thee through me to go to the tower of St Diomedes in Nicomedia to His chosen servant Hesaias". Up to this point it looks like we are dealing with a deceased saint. But further on Arsakios begins to act as if he were alive. Together with Ioannikios they go to Hesaias, who predicts that when they both will come to Empress Theodora, a voice from heaven will be heard proclaiming, among other things: "Ioannikios and Arsakios, say to Patriarch Methodios: dismiss all the unholy, and in

⁴⁷ See *Narratio de translatione Nicephori*, in Th. Joannou, *Μνημεία ἀγιολογικά* (Venice, 1884), 124-127, esp. 126: *Σήμερον βασιλεὺς ... καὶ τεθρεῶτί σοι τὴν Ἑκκλησίαν διδόσκειν, οἷ ... ταύτην σὺν ἐμοὶ παριστῶσι μὴ ἔχουσιν σπῖλον ἢ ρυτίδα ὁποῖαν ταῖς σαῖς ὑποστηρίξει κατηρτισμένην ἀπέλιπες.*

⁴⁸ PG 100, 844D: *εἰ δὲ καὶ πάντ' ὀλίγοι ἐν τῇ ὀρθοδοξίᾳ καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ διαμένουσιν, οὗτοί εἰσιν Ἑκκλησία ...*

⁴⁹ W. Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica* (St Petersburg, 1891), 25-26.

this way you will offer me with angels a sacrifice of praise ..."⁵⁰ The hermits obey and the process of restoration of images begins. The order to "dismiss all the unholy" is not mentioned any more. Indeed, it plays no role in the plot of the narrative. This should indicate that it was borrowed from an earlier source, whose meaning was not entirely clear to the compiler. By his time the question of the Iconoclast clerics had long lost all significance, but for this hypothetical earlier source it must have been an important issue.

This apparently legendary and unreliable episode displays some very suspicious coincidences. No Arsakios is known from the 9th century, apart from this text and the Life of the Empress Theodora.⁵¹ But there was a certain confessor Arsakios, mentioned by Sozomenos,⁵² in the 4th century. This Arsakios lived in a tower in Nicomedia, and his memory is celebrated the same day as that of St Diomedes (16 August)!⁵³ I have a feeling that there is a hopelessly distorted story behind all that, probably going back to the time when the phrase *παῦσον πάντας τοὺς ἀνιέρους* did have some topicality. But the most important thing is that this injunction is pronounced by Hesaias who, according to the Life of Theodora, played a crucial role in her marriage to Theophilos.⁵⁴ Basing on this obscure and distorted information, we can only cautiously suppose that Methodios may have influenced the empress through her spiritual father or a hermit closely associated with her family, with the help of certain prophecies and apparitions. Anyhow, the government had indeed nothing to worry about: the Great Purge of the Byzantine clergy was carried out by Patriarch Methodios with admirable political skill and did not provoke any significant unrest in society. The lesson was taught.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 26,7-12: Ἰωαννῆς καὶ Ἀρσάκις, εἶπεν· Μεθόδιε τῷ πατριάρχει· παῦσον πάντας τοὺς ἀνιέρους καὶ οὕτως σὺν ἀγγέλοις προσετέγγει μοι θυσίαν αἰνέσεως ...

⁵¹ A. Markopoulos (ed.), "Βίος τῆς αὐτοκράτειρας Θεοδώρας", Σύμμεικτα 5 (1983), 249-285, esp. 266,28.

⁵² Sozomen, *Kirchengeschichte*, hrsg. von J. Bidez & G. Ch. Hansen (Berlin, 1900), 159-161.

⁵³ See *AASS*, Aug., 16.

⁵⁴ "Βίος τῆς αὐτοκράτειρας Θεοδώρας", 259-260.

THE TEXT OF THE LIFE OF
ST NIKON "METANOEITE" RECONSIDERED

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I

The *Life of St Nikon "Metanoëite"* (BHG 1366, 1367) is one of the most interesting examples of the hagiography of the 11th century,¹ a period when this genre was losing much of its earlier productivity. Although a native of the Pontos, Nikon was active mainly in the monastery he founded in Sparta, and his *Life* has been studied above all for the light it sheds on 10th-century conditions in Lacedaemonia and the Peloponnese more generally.

The text of the *Life* has been preserved by two manuscripts, cod. Barberinianus gr. 583 (B), of the 14/15th century,² and cod. Athous Koutlousiou 210 (K), copied in 1630. The former was used by J. Sirmond for his Latin translation of the *vita*,³ whereas the latter was exploited by Sp. Lampros for the *editio princeps* of the Greek text which appeared in 1906.⁴ In addition to variants of the usual kind, and to traces of mechanical damage to which the version preserved by K has been subject,⁵ there is a limited number of passages in which the texts con-

¹ For the date, which relies on a passage that is corrupt in both MSS and has therefore been debated, see R. J. H. Jenkins & C. Mango, "A Synodicon of Antioch and Lacedaemonia", *DOP* 15 (1961), 225-242, here 240, and cf. note 24, below.

² B, which is written by various hands, was dated to the 15th c. by H. Delehay, "Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibliothecae Barberiniana de Urbe", *AnalBoll* 19 (1900), 81-118, here 107-114. However, for the part containing the *Life of Nikon* the 14th c. was suggested by N. Bees, "Vie de Saint Théoclète, évêque de Lacédémone", *Vizantijskoe obozrenije* 2 (1916), Suppl. 1, p. 4.

³ For bibliographical details pertaining to this translation, see D. F. Sullivan, "The Versions of the *Vita Nikonis*", *DOP* 32 (1978), 157-173, here 159 f.; G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Grèce aux VIII^e, IX^e et X^e siècles", *Byz* 31 (1961), 309-369, here 346 f.

⁴ Sp. Lampros, "Ὁ Ὁσίου Νίκωνος τοῦ Μετανοεῖται", *NE* 3 (1906), 132-228.

⁵ Cf. note 23, below. Add the case of ch. 74.37 ff., an interesting story about the difficulties encountered by two Latin merchant brothers travelling in the insecure Peloponnesian countryside. K's version is not only much shorter than that of B but also distorts

tained in B and K differ from one another quite considerably, sometimes to the degree that a block of several lines in one manuscript is substituted for a completely different block of text in the other. The conclusion imposes itself that, as far as these passages are concerned, one of the manuscripts represents a re-working of a model which is better preserved in the other.

In the last few years the *Life* has been afforded two new editions. The first of the two recent editors, Od. Lampsides, chose to edit each of the two manuscripts separately, printing his transcription of B with Sirmond's Latin translation on facing pages, followed by the transcription of K.⁶ Lampsides' book also contains a comprehensive commentary, including studies of various aspects of the *Life*, notably questions concerning the authorship. Despite the sometimes very considerable differences between the two manuscripts, Lampsides, no doubt rightly, regards them as independent witnesses of a tradition that goes back to a common source, and thus essentially as copies of one and the same *Life*.⁷ The editorial method chosen is therefore surprising, the more so as the editor's clearly stated belief in the over-all superiority of B would have been a simple principle to follow for an edition based on the combined testimony of both manuscripts. As things are, a major part of the editor's task is virtually left undone. The reader will soon realize that, apart from the few exceptional passages to which reference has already been made — and on which more will be said below —, the differences between B and K are too insignificant to affect the content conveyed by them. In this situation few readers can be expected to make use of the opportunity to compare the two versions, especially as the arrangement of the texts in the book makes such a comparison laborious.⁸

The second of the recent editors is D. F. Sullivan. Unlike Lampsides he obviously saw nothing in the manuscript tradition of Nikon's *vita* that would have prevented him from establishing, along traditional philologi-

the events in an intolerable way. This is doubtless due to the loss of a large portion of text (one MS page or column?) at an earlier stage in the transmission. The relationship is conveniently illustrated by the table in Od. Lampsides, 'Ο ἐκ Πόντου ὁσίου Νίκων ὁ Μετανοεῖτε [Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου, παράρτ. 13] (Athens, 1982) [henceforth cited as Lampsides, "Ὅσιος Νίκων"], 330-331, where, however, the reasons for the lacuna are not discussed.

⁶ Lampsides, "Ὅσιος Νίκων", 14-159 (B and Sirmond), 161-240 (K).

⁷ Lampsides, "Ὅσιος Νίκων", 334, 351-353.

⁸ Cf. the remarks on a similar feature in a posthumous work by N. Svoronos in L. Burgmann, "Editio per testamentum", *Rechtshistorisches Journal* 13 (1994), 455-479, here 465 f.

cal lines, a critical text based on the combined testimony of B and K. The result of his work will be found in a book that appeared five years after the edition by Lampsides.⁹ In addition to the Greek text, Sullivan's book includes a short introduction,¹⁰ a brief commentary,¹¹ and an English translation. The latter is an important complement to a text that, despite so many fascinating qualities, is often trying to read (the reason for this is a familiar one: the author of the *vita* has chosen a stylistic level which a modern reader is apt to find too ambitious for his literary ability). Unfortunately, Sullivan's translation too often proves to be unreliable and has to be consulted with caution.

Both Lampsides and Sullivan have made important observations pertaining to the relationship between the two manuscripts, the former partly starting from the latter's study of 1978.¹² The following discussion will mainly refer to Sullivan's treatment of this problem. This is natural because this scholar has put the results of his investigation into practice by means of a critical text, but also because, writing last, he was able to consider Lampsides' conclusions in his own work. Both editors agree in regarding the text of K as affected by a re-working of the ultimate source of the extant tradition, and the text of B as a better preserved version of this source. In Sullivan's edition the priority thus given to B has had expected results. Whenever K differs from B, the readings of K are normally relegated to the critical apparatus. This happens not only in the relatively few cases where the differences are thoroughgoing and affect more or less extensive passages, but also in a large number of less significant details. The question to be addressed here is whether the view that has determined this editorial principle can be reconciled with all the relevant evidence.

Sullivan's judgment has a basis that is sound as far as it goes. It relies, apart from B's greater age and generally superior quality as compared with K, on the following fact. The author of the *Life* seems to have drawn on the *Life* of St Luke the Younger (*BHG* 994) for a number

⁹ D. F. Sullivan, *The Life of Saint Nikon* (Brookline, Mass., 1987) [henceforth cited as Sullivan, *Life*]; in the following, all references will be to this edition of Nikon's *Life*.

¹⁰ In the Introduction Sullivan mainly repeats — and largely simply reprints — the results of his study "The Versions of the *Vita Nikonis*". Unfortunately, in quoting passages from the *Life* he does not refer to chapters and lines of his own edition but to pages in the MS B, which makes it unnecessarily difficult for the reader to locate them.

¹¹ It must be said that the Commentary is disappointing. Too many trivial comments are made, and too many interesting details are left without notice.

¹² Sullivan, "The Versions of the *Vita Nikonis*".

of elements in his own work.¹³ Whereas this dependence stands out clearly in B, it is obscured, in several instances, by apparent omissions, abbreviations and alterations in K.

In large, Sullivan's analysis of the dependence, in some passages, of the Life of Nikon on the Life of Luke seems to be correct, and his idea of the former's direct dependence on the latter is supported by the result of his comparison of Nikon's *vita* with a sample of twelve texts from the 5th through 12th centuries: none of these shows a degree of parallelism comparable to that which can be observed in the case of the Life of Nikon and the Life of Luke. However, as Lampsides points out, Sullivan probably overrates the value of some of the parallels.¹⁴ This is the case especially with those found in the Prologue and the Epilogue, i.e. those parts in which a selection of current rhetorical clichés should be expected in any saint's Life. A high degree of similarity, or a large number of parallels, will be needed to establish a link with reasonable strength in such cases. For example, the Prologue (ch. 1) of the Life of Nikon shows evident parallels to the Life of Luke on lines 15–16 and 35–44, whereas on lines 1–3 this is hardly the case.¹⁵

As for the relationship between B and K, it should further be observed that those cases in which B represents the passages dependent on the Life of Luke with decidedly greater fidelity than K are very few. Actually, apart from a section of the Prologue (ch. 1, 1–24), which in K is very different from, and much shorter than, the version offered by B, in all the examples discussed in Sullivan's Introduction, K's deviations from B (where they exist at all) can be explained either as scribal errors or as attempts to correct such errors.¹⁶ Even the case of the Prologue is

¹³ See Sullivan, "The Versions of the Vita Nikonis", where the connections between this Vita and the Life of St Luke the Younger are established. For the latter, see now the edition by D. Z. Sophianos, "Ὁσιος Λουκᾶς. Ὁ Βίος τοῦ Ὁσίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ Ἐπειρωτῆ" (Athens, 1989).

¹⁴ See Lampsides, "Ὁσιος Νίκων", 337–338, 343–344. According to Sullivan (*Life*, p. 9) "the author of the *Life of Nikon* knew the *Life of Luke* quite well". Lampsides ascribes the borrowings from the latter Life to the writer responsible for the third and last stage in the history of the Life of Nikon — "the hegoumenos of 1149" — according to his own reconstruction (p. 344). His view of the relationship between the MSS is, however, essentially identical with that of Sullivan.

¹⁵ See the quotations of these passages in Sullivan's Introduction, 10 and 9, and in Lampsides, "Ὁσιος Νίκων", 338.

¹⁶ Complete correspondence between B and K or simple errors in K are found, for example, at Life of Nikon, 1,35–44 (cf. Sullivan's Introduction, p. 10), 2,19–20 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 12), 5,21 (cf. *ibid.*), 5,45–51 (cf. *ibid.*), 5,69–72 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 13; the differences do not affect words included in the real parallels), 9,11–20 (cf. *ibid.*; K's *et*

far from being as clear-cut as Sullivan's discussion suggests. In fact, the most important difference between the versions of the Prologue presented by B and K — the one on lines 1–24 just noted — does not affect the section in which the parallelism between the Life of Nikon and the Life of Luke is especially significant.¹⁷ On the contrary, the most striking parallel (lines 35–44) is found in a part of the text which K shares with B and in which the former's deviations from the latter can be explained as a combination of scribal errors and an attempt to emend a passage that does not make sense.¹⁸

On the whole, Sullivan's discussion concerns passages where the differences between B and K are comparatively slight, so that error in the transmission of the text, rather than anything else, is the explanation that comes naturally to mind. That such errors are more numerous in K than in B should be expected in view of the fact that K is some 200 years later than B. That B's text is in a better state of preservation than that of K is however a fact that does not contribute to answering the question whether the version represented by B is closer than that of K to their ultimate common source. In order to answer this question it is necessary to pay more attention to those passages by which the two versions of the Life differ from each other fundamentally. Let us look at some of these passages to see what they can tell us about the relationship between the two manuscripts.

Chapter 1, 1–24 is that part of the Prologue of which B and K give completely different versions. In Lampsides' view, B's version is alien to a hagiographic work because of the philosophical and theological line of thought that it develops, in contrast with the simple and less extensively developed commonplace found in K: Christian believers looking to the saints for guidance are like seafarers looking to the stars for the same purpose.¹⁹ Lampsides concludes that B gives the original text which K, or rather one of its ancestors, found less suitable for its context and

λάκκω for ἐν καλῷ is an obvious error), 12,6–10 (cf. *ibid.*), 30,7–8 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 12–13), 49,1–8 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 11), 77,5–7 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 11), 77,26–28 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 12; a very minor error in K).

¹⁷ Ch. 1, 1–24. The text of K given in the last four lines of Sullivan's critical note on p. 26 (from *νικητοῦ* on) corresponds very closely to B as presented in his edition at 1,24–30, and should have been recorded in separate notes.

¹⁸ K's omission of nearly two lines at 1,43–44 is most likely a loss of text *per homoeoteleuton*. As for the variants on line 37, where B seems to say the opposite of the model in the Life of Luke, see the discussion of that passage in part II of this paper.

¹⁹ Lampsides, *Ὁσιος Νίκων*, 324–325.

therefore replaced with something more familiar to readers of saints' Lives. This is not in itself an obvious conclusion, and the opposite might be argued with equal reason. However, a couple of more easily assessed observations may be added.

First, as regards the content, near the beginning of the text shared by both manuscripts, Nikon is characterized as a holy man who surpassed many of his predecessors, *εἰ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ δεύτερος ὤφθη κατὰ πολὺ τοῖς παλαιοῖς* (lines 26–27). This seems to be a direct continuation of the thought developed at some length in B's version of the first part of the Prologue: ascetic prowess and pious virtue do not depend on place or time but on the person's own character (lines 1–7, with reference to the old antithesis *τόπος – τρόπος*).

Second, as regards the form of the transitional passage between the first part of the Prologue and the text common to B and K,²⁰ there are some obvious difficulties in K that are absent in B: the phrase *τοῦ ... Νίκωνος τὰ ... κατορθώματα μείζω φανῆναι δεικνύουσι* [sc. *τὸν Νίκωνα*] *τῆς κλήσεως* is much inferior to the relative elegance of the corresponding passage in B (lines 21–25). Further, in K it is followed by an absolute genitive that seems to be the beginning of a new sentence (*νικητοῦ γὰρ ἀναδειχθέντος κ.τ.λ.*), which is, however, interrupted by the intervening relative clause and never resumed. In B these words are connected with the preceding phrase in the accusative (*νικητὴν ἀναδειχθέντα, κ.τ.λ.*, line 24 f.), and no difficulty is present. This evidence firmly supports the conclusion drawn by Lampsides: K's version of the introductory paragraph of the Prologue is the result of a reworking of the original form of the text. Nothing, as far as I can see, indicates when and by whom the substitution of K's version for that of B was made. It may have happened very late.

Chapter 15, 25–69 tells a miracle by which the young Nikon, thanks to the Virgin's help, succeeds in crossing a deep river to escape his father and his brothers who are searching for him. The textual differences between B and K are very considerable. The narrative is more extensive in B than in K,²¹ and as far as the details are concerned, the following may be noted. On lines 27–28 B describes the persecutors with the words *πτηνῶν ἴσα τὸ τάχος ἐνδεικνυμένους*; in K a phrase of similar meaning

²⁰ Cf. note 17, above.

²¹ Lampsides, *Ὅσιος Νίκων*, 328–329, compares the two versions without comment; it appears later however (p. 405) that he regards K's version as an abbreviation of that of B.

— πτεροῦ κουφότερον ἵπτατο — is used to describe Nikon's own movements on the same occasion. Further, on lines 45–47 the text of B tells how the Virgin helps Nikon, who has just entered the river, by stretching out a staff with a cross on top of it (ῥάβδον ... σταυρικὸν τύπον φέρουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον), and then grasping his right hand (τῆς δεξιᾶς τε λαβομένη ἀβρόχως αὐτὸν ... διεσώσατο); in contrast K has the Virgin save Nikon by seizing him with her own right hand (τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ τοῦτον κρατήσασα), giving him, not a staff with a cross, but a cross which he himself later fastened on to a staff (δοῦσα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ σιδηροῦν σταυρὸν ... ὃν τινα σταυρὸν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ ἐμπείρας, ἔτι τῷ βίῳ περιῶν, κ.τ.λ.). After this B adds (lines 49–54) a piece of information wholly absent from K: this staff [given to Nikon by the Virgin] is still preserved in his monastery, in the chamber where the coffin with his relics stands, and is venerated because it works miracles for all who approach it in faith.²²

It is clear that B's version refers to the actual presence in Nikon's monastery in Sparta of a relic in the form of a staff with a cross, a fact of which K knows nothing. But which version is likely to be the original one? In my view the additional information present in B seems to indicate that K is closer to the original. If the original Life had told of the Virgin's staff surviving in the monastery, it is difficult to see why anyone should have bothered to rework the chapter in order to eliminate this single point. If there had been any reason for omitting such a piece of information — for example, that the staff no longer existed — the natural way to do so would have been simply to delete the few lines telling about it. It is much easier to understand why a reworking should have been made the other way round. The miracle as told in K would naturally have created a need for possessing the object that plays such an important role in the story. To fabricate such an object would not have been difficult, and when this had been done the new situation would have to be documented. B's version of ch. 15 of the Life is, I think, the documentation created on this occasion. That the Virgin's gift included both a cross and a staff (B), not only a cross that Nikon himself later attached to a staff (K), would help raise the value of the relic.

²² In his discussion of the history of the Life (for which cf. Sullivan's summary, *Life*, note 62 on p. 23), Lampsides (*Ὁσιος Νίκων*, 359) regards lines 49–54 as an addition to the original form of the first part of the work. However, he does not connect this idea with his own observation (pp. 328–329) that the whole passage is one in which the two manuscripts differ greatly from each other.

To these considerations, one or two observations on the minor differences cited above may be added. First, in the context of Nikon's Life it seems awkward to use, as the text of B does, an expression such as "displaying the same swiftness as birds", with its positive implications, about the saint's opponents (even if they are his father and his brothers) rather than about the holy man himself, as is the case in K. Second, there is little point in saying that in saving Nikon the Virgin took *his* right hand, as does the text of B, rather than saying that in saving him she stretched out *her* right hand, implying that she showed him an especially favourable attitude. In both cases it seems likely, therefore, that B's version is the result of misunderstanding or carelessness in connection with the rewriting of the passage.

Chapter 62,62-63 also suggests that a change in the life of the monastery has caused a change in the wording of the text. In B, as usual followed by Sullivan, we read about the Slavic tribe called Milingoi that, after they had been punished by the holy man for their attack against the monastery's metochion, (τῷ δέει ἡ βάρβαρος ἐκείνη φύσις καὶ ἀτίθασος τῆς οἰκείας ... ἀγριότητος ἐπιλανθανομένη) συνθήκας ἔθετο καὶ ἀπώμοτον αὐτῇ γεγένηται τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν τοῖς τῇ μονῇ διαφέρουσι. Sullivan translates: (that barbaric tribe) "forsook attacking those in the monastery". However, apart from the fact that τοῖς τῇ μονῇ διαφέρουσι rather means "the monastery's property", this translation leaves the words συνθήκας ἔθετο without notice and thus demonstrates the difficulties of B's version of the text: an infinitive to complement the phrase συνθήκας ἔθετο would be desirable, and the change of subject in the next verb is somewhat harsh. The corresponding passage in K is linguistically unproblematic but says something quite different: συνθήκας ἔθετο ἐτησίως προσφέρειν τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ μονῇ κηρούς τε καὶ θυμιάματα καὶ γεραίρειν ὅση δύναμις τὸν ὅσιον ("they agreed to bring candles and incense to this holy monastery every year and to celebrate the holy man with all their might"). In this case too, I think, K is more likely to give the original version. An agreement with the Milingoi may well have resulted in their promise to present yearly offerings to the saint, but it is equally likely that this promise had no lasting effects. Such a development would be reflected in B's version, which only states that the Milingoi would not repeat their former offense. That the agreement should have developed from the form reflected in B into that reflected in K seems most unlikely. Again, the most natural explanation of the difference in form and content between B and K is rather that B represents a revised version of the text preserved in K.

It may be noted that the words ἀπώμοτον αὐτῇ γεγένηται (lines 26-27) echoes ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπώμοτον in ch. 15, 26-27, a phrase found in B's but not in K's version of that passage.

Chapter 66, 4-6 describes an *acheiropoieton* in the form of a stone relief decorated with the image of Nikon holding the staff he once received from the Virgin (see on ch. 15, 25-69, above). Here the text of B is more extensive than K and gives information absent in the latter.²³ Thus in lines 3-6, which are lacking in K, B says that the stone slab was originally (πάλαι μὲν, line 3) placed in the very centre of the church, but was later (ὕστερον δὲ, line 5) moved to the προτεμένισμα (i.e. narthex? — Sullivan translates "forecourt"), close to the chamber containing the holy man's coffin. I would guess that the slab was moved in connection with the "discovery" of Nikon's staff, as discussed above, and if this is right, B's version of the text would be the result of an adjustment to this new situation. In contrast it is difficult to understand why anyone should have rewritten the version found in B to produce that found in K, so again K is likely to be closer than B to their ultimate common source.

Chapter 77, 34 ff. The final passage of the Epilogue is presented by B and K in two versions which are completely different from one another. That of K is much shorter than that of B; as usual, Sullivan follows the latter. The preceding lines (26-34), of which B and K give an almost identical text, contain a prayer to Nikon: "May you be a protector for me and the monastery, may you save me in this life (ἐνταῦθα μὲν, line 30) from invisible and visible enemies, and in the world beyond (ἐκεῖθεν δὲ, line 33) from the fire of hell and the unspeakable punishments." In B this prayer is given a justification in the form of an emphatic statement of the author's lack of literary ability: Οὐ γὰρ κομψοεπίας ... ταῦτα τὰ λαρυγγεύματα, ἀλλὰ λιτότητος μὲν λέξεως ἐν ἀκατασκεύῃ καὶ ἀπλῶ διηγήματι, ἐξ ἀμούσου γλώττης καὶ παχυτέρας διανοίας (lines 34-38), followed by an explanation of his purpose ("in order that your miracles may not be forgotten", lines 39-44) and another prayer for the saint's intercession, etc. (lines 44-48).

²³ In this chapter K's text has suffered from a misplacement of folios, a fact that is not immediately apparent in Sullivan's text (although it is mentioned in his Introduction, p. 8). For a clear picture of the facts, see Lampsides' text, *Ὅσιος Νίκων*, 223, 21 and 228, 22-23, and 321-323. I do not think this situation affects the form of the passage discussed here.

The author's statement of his lacking skill is a commonplace of no surprise in the context of an epilogue. As it stands, the present passage is nevertheless surprising in at least two ways. First, it develops a thought that has already been expressed, more discreetly, earlier in the Epilogue, namely on lines 16-23, (especially 21, εἰ μὲν καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐγγύς οὐκ οἶδα), in the suitable context of a prayer to the saint to accept the *vita*, despite its shortcomings, as an act of reverence. Second, it seems awkward for an author to say something like, "protect me from the eternal fire, for this work is written in a poor style although with a sincere mind", etc. We would rather expect a reference to God's grace and the saint's benevolence, if indeed a justification for a prayer for salvation were needed (of course, this is not really the case). Rather, it is in K that we find a natural continuation of lines 26-34. Instead of B's confession of literary incompetence we there read: (save me from the unspeakable punishments,) ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς τοῦ ἀδεκάστου φοβερᾶς κρίσεως ἀκαταισχύντως προσάγων με μέτοχον τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ στάσεως ἀποδείξεις, ἀρπαγησόμενον εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ μετ' ἀγγέλων ὑμνῶδὸν ἐσόμενον τῆς ἀκτίστου καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος (followed by a doxology). This gives an unobjectionable sequence of thought in a linguistically clear form. I find it difficult not to ascribe this version of the Epilogue, rather than that of B, to the original author of the *vita*.

It is notable that the wording in B's version of the passage under discussion here is strongly reminiscent of one or two other passages in the *Life*, namely the beginning of ch. 69, Ἐγὼ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ τῇ ἀμούσῳ γλώσσει καὶ ἀκόμψῳ ταῦτα λέγων κ.τ.λ., and the phrase ῥήμασιν ἀκόμψοις ... ἐκθέσθαι near the beginning of ch. 75 (lines 3-4). These passages are preserved by K as well as B; both belong to what Lampsides calls the third part of the *Life* and regards as written by an abbot of Nikon's monastery appointed in, and writing, in his view, shortly after 1149 (a more likely date is after 1042).²⁴ Were the words in the Epilogue quoted above written by the same man? If the answer is yes, and it is agreed that the view here taken on the passages discussed above is reasonable, the emerging picture becomes disturbingly complicated. We must then suppose that K represents a stage at which the abbot of St Nikon's had introduced most of his own material into the *Life*, but after which another, final, revision was made, by the same man and obviously soon

²⁴ Thus according to the most likely interpretation of the date, which is differently, but in both cases erroneously, transmitted by the MSS; see Sullivan, *Life*, 6-7. For the alternative date of 1149, and for the question of the third part and its author in general, see Lampsides, *Ὁσιος Νίκων*, 375-377.

after the first one. One reason for this final revision would have been, conceivably, the acquisition of the relic discussed in connection with ch. 15. above.

The results of the preceding discussion are not unambiguous. On the one hand it is obvious that in important respects K represents a stage in the textual history that is decidedly closer than B to the original Life of Nikon. On the other hand it is also clear that in at least one case — the Prologue in ch. 1 — it is B that preserves the original version whereas K has undergone significant reworking. One might hypothesize that the partial revision reflected in B took place rather soon after the completion of the original author's work, and in any case in immediate contact with the cult of Nikon in his own monastery. The rewriting of the Prologue reflected in K is of a more trivial character and has parallels in a number of other hagiographic texts. There are no clues for its date, and it may well have been done long after the composition of the original *vita*. As for the circumstances in which the Prologue was rewritten we can do little more than state the obvious: it was done by someone who felt the need for an easier introduction to Nikon's Life than the elaborate original Prologue. Seen in this way the apparent contradictory features in K need not be felt as an embarrassment to the idea of the relationship between the manuscripts put forth here.

Obviously, however, the textual history of the Life would need to be studied afresh, with due consideration also of such evidence as language and style. So far it seems certain that Sullivan's idea of B's priority over K cannot be upheld as a general principle. What we can say is rather that, whereas B often provides a better copy of the version it contains, the version contained in K, although it has fared less well during the transmission of the text, is mostly closer to the original Life of Nikon as far as the most conspicuous deviations are concerned. This fact does not prevent K itself from being less reliable in other ways. That in many instances this is actually the case has been sufficiently shown by Sullivan's discussion of some of the parallels between this Life and the Life of Luke, as well as by Lampsides' discussion of some of Nikon's post-humous miracles,²⁵ and also by some parts of the preceding discussion. However, in constituting the text of the Life, K must be regarded as the potentially preferable source even in cases where B's text is equally acceptable.

²⁵ Summarized by Sullivan, *Life*, 8.

II

As part I of this paper has hopefully shown, a re-evaluation of the textual tradition of the Life of Nikon as a whole is necessary. Based on this, a new critical edition of the text would also be desirable. However, even if we would accept the presuppositions on which Sullivan's edition rests, his text seems unacceptable in a number of cases. In individual instances his reliance on the authority of B has led him to accept obviously false or inferior readings of that manuscript. Especially striking are those cases in which B's text is printed whereas the translation obviously relies on the text of K.²⁶ Sometimes even emendation of an inferior reading found in B has been preferred to accepting a superior one found in K.²⁷ On the other hand a number of unnecessary or erroneous changes made by Sp. Lampros have been admitted into Sullivan's text.²⁸ Questionable or manifestly false punctuation occurs in quite a number of cases.²⁹ The

²⁶ For example, at 2,34 Sullivan prints B's meaningless (πάντα ... ἔκρινε) τὰ (μικρά ...) but translates K's ὡς ("He judged them ... as insignificant ..."); at 32,17 he prints B's καὶ (ἀποστολικὸν φημι ...) — which is an impossible way of introducing an apposition — but translates K's τὸ for καὶ, which is necessary; at 74,81 he prints B's ὁ before ὁρώμενος, which K omits, but the correct text of K is was he translates: "he ... was visible nowhere"; at 75,44 his translation follows K which rightly omits τοῖς and adds οὔσης after λιθοστρώτου (a necessary complement due to the predicative position of the latter word): "As the stairway there was paved with rocks, he was dashed against harsh and ragged rocks". — A discrepancy of a similar kind is found at 9,18 where Sullivan prints ἡδέως, πῶς ἂν εἴποις, although he rather translates ἡδέως πως ... See also notes on 41,29, 53,5, 60,19–22, and 75,60, below.

²⁷ Cf. below, on 67,11.

²⁸ For example, τὴν for καὶ at 35,56; ἀντωπῶν for ἀντωπεῖν at 35,65 (an oscillating use of infinitives and participles is common in late Greek, and this is not an extreme example); λήψεσθαί for λήψασθαί at 47,19; ὤχετο for οἶχετο at 51,9 (and the analogous case ἡδεῖτο for αἰδεῖτο at 60,27–28; the augmentation of diphthongs is often omitted); περιδινήσας (περιδηνήσας) for περιδονήσας at 55,32 (cf. LSJ, s.v. περιδονέω); χρῆσθαι for χρᾶσθαι at 57,4; κυνώδεσι for κυνώδεις at 59,23 (adjectives ending in -ης were difficult to handle and are often irregularly inflected); Ἀσκληπιάδου for Ἀσκληπιάδα at 74,6; ἐκείνῳ for ἐκείνου at 77,1. — Sullivan's critical apparatus often omits any mention of Lampros in such cases, for example, at 35,29, 35,66, 51,9, 57,4, 60,27–28, 60,93, 74,6, 77,1. The same is true of some cases where necessary emendations made by Lampros have been tacitly adopted, for example, 25,16–17 (but on line 19 his emendation is indicated as such), 57,11, 58,80, 59,39, 60,4, 60,11, 60,37, 60,39. On the other hand there are cases in which Lampros is credited with very minor corrections (for example, σπουδαῖον for σπουδαίων at 40,21), as well as errors and even misprints (such as ἀκόλουθόν at 41,1). At 39,90 the emendation left anonymous in Sullivan's apparatus should have been credited to Lampsides.

following instances, which also include a number of questionable interpretations, would seem to deserve some attention and discussion.

1,30 μικρῶ (πάντας): read μικροῦ; the (admittedly simple) error appears in both manuscripts.

1,35 Rather than B's ἐνέδειξε, K's ἀνέδειξε is the expected verb for "display, reveal". It is strongly supported by ἀναδέδεικται on line 40.

1,37 οὐ τὸ τῇ φύσει κ.τ.λ.: τὸ should be deleted; cf. the parallel from the Life of Luke the Younger cited by Sullivan, *Life*, p. 10. — Sullivan follows B because its version is manifestly closer to the Life of Luke. At the same time it is clear that B's text misrepresents its model in such a way that it says the very opposite of the idea expressed there. The text of K, on the other hand, was obviously created by someone who realized the nonsensical character of B's version and attempted to restore sense by writing οὕτω τὴν φύσιν κ.τ.λ. Although this attempt was rather successful, the result was a text that was further removed from its ultimate source as far as phraseology is concerned. The author has just said, "more than anyone else [Nikon] by the courage and steadfastness of his will showed his virtue, which is an insecure thing to almost all people, to be firm in the midst of many" (in part Sullivan's translation), and then follows this up with the old image of the steep road that leads to virtue.

2,14 Follow K's (περὶ) αὐτοῦ rather than B's αὐτὸν.

2,24 K's οἱ ἱεροὶ ... is undoubtedly right; cf. the parallel expression in the following clause, σπουδῇ πᾶσα τὸ ... ὁρᾶν κ.τ.λ. B's loss of the article is an easy error by haplography.

2,41 Sullivan prints B's ἥδεται (against K's ἥδετο), which is impossible; the necessary correction was made by Lampsides in his ed. of B (*Ὅσιος Νίκων*, 18,17).

3,2 K's ἦπτεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ is decidedly better than B's ἦπτεν αὐτῷ (again a simple case of haplography).

3,4 Accepting K's additional phrase ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν gives the right structure to this passage. The apodosis of the first sentence, which

²⁹ For example, at 1,11 strong punctuation is needed after ἕτερον; at 15,66 the full stop after ῥοθίον should be replaced with a comma and a full stop be put after ἐπεφαίνετο; at 44,40 a dash should be substituted for the full stop after ὃ τοῦ θαύματος (these words are, as usual, parenthetically placed in the middle of the sentence, and after them the apodosis begins); at 59,4 the comma after χώρας should be replaced with a full stop and the dash removed (ἀρθείς is an absolute nomin.); at 74,62 the full stop after ἀναπαύλης should be replaced with a comma (thus Lampsides, *Ὅσιος Νίκων*, 148,36), since ὁ μὲν εἰς φρουρὰν κ.τ.λ. provides the finite verbs for the apodosis beginning with ὁκλάσας (line 61).

describes the general background of the following story, will begin at καὶ σφοδρότερον (line 2). After τρίβον, where a full stop should be put, there is a fresh start introducing the actual situation.

4,16 K's ἀποτελεῖσθαι, not B's ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, is the verb needed to convey the meaning "render".

5,20 σύμβολα τὰ τῆς ... φερούσης: this is a combination of B's σύμβολα τὰ ... φερούσης and K's σύμβολα τῆς ... φερούσης. But the ed. should follow K, of which B gives just a simple corruption.

5,40 The clause does not construe grammatically. Sullivan's attempt to take πολὺ τὸ ... ἄναντες as an accus. of respect ("the mountain was most extreme in its roughness ...") cannot, I think, be right. Grammar may be healed by K's addition of τὸ διάστημα τοῦ τόπου after ἄναντες, followed by ὑπάρχοντος ἐρήμου πάσης παρακλήσεως for B's καὶ πάσ. ἐρ. τυγχάνοντος παρακλήσεως, which in any case is worth consideration. Possibly the construction is διεκαρτέρει ... πιέζεσθαι μὲν, φέρειν δὲ ... καὶ πολὺ τὸ σκληρὸν ... τοῦ τόπου, ὑπάρχοντος ἐρήμου πάσης παρακλήσεως ("he endured to be oppressed and to carry ... and [he endured] the rough ... distance to the place, which is devoid of any relief"). In addition K's text eliminates the repetition of τυγχάνοντος (line 41; cf. line 39); it provides fuller information; and the result is a phrase for which there is support at 4,13, διὰ τὸ σκληρὸν τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἄνικμον.

5,42 ff. Translate: "... so that in the beginning he cared for nourishment once a week"; ἐν ἀρχῇ is to be understood as in opposition to Τοῦ καιροῦ δὲ προϊόντος (line 53 f.)

5,66 B's παρασκευάζειν παντοίως gives a superfluous infinitive (μηχανώμενος ... ἀπομάχεσθαι is fully satisfactory). K's παρασκευαῖς παντοίαις is clearly right.

6,1 ff. Translate: "That it was in a community and amid so many practical problems that all the virtue was accomplished by the just man is a fact beyond imitation, ..."

6,12 εὐθὺς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνιπτάμενον (B) obviously lacks a preposition, which is present in K: εὐθὺς πρὸς κ.τ.λ.

7,7 μετὰ σώματος βίον means "life in [not "beyond"] the body."

7,7-9 The editor follows K halfway in keeping the last two words of this paragraph (omitted by B), although he changes διεφύλαττε to διαφυλάττων. No change is needed if the additional words in K on line 7, ἡγωνίζετο καὶ, are also accepted in the text. Punctuation after ἀπείργειν would make the structure more transparent.

9,15 Sullivan follows B, but this text cannot stand as it is. A minimal necessary correction is (ἡγήσατο ...) ζημίαν τὴν (τὴν: καὶ B) τῶν ποθομένων ἀπόταξιν (B has a similar error at 32,17, on which see below). K's τὴν διάζευξιν τῶν ποθομένων ἀδελφῶν is unobjectionable but not necessarily the original text.

9,45 γεννάδαι: both manuscripts give γεννάδες which should be kept; "metaplastic" forms (mainly nom. and genit.) of masculine nouns of the first declension do occur (cf. for example τοῦ γεννάδος, as from γεννάς, in the Life of Nicholas the Studite,³⁰ PG 105, col. 881B). See St. B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der Byzantinischen Chroniken* (Göttingen, 1913), 140–141 (cited below as Psaltes, *Grammatik*).

10,4 τί οὖν βούλεται σοι ὁ τοσοῦτος θρήνος: not "Why then is such lamentation and wailing your wish", but "What is the meaning of ..."

10,19 f. κατησχυμμένος (B): "Put to shame by the darkness of life" makes little sense. Κατέχω, not καταισχύνω, is the verb needed, so κατεσχημένος (K) must be right.

11,31 In ὁδεύοντι τὴν ἄνω φέρουσιν βασιλείαν, the words πρὸς τὴν seem to have dropped out after τὴν (the editor translates "journeying ... along the road leading up to the kingdom"). Note that the error is found in both manuscripts.

16,2–7 Sullivan follows B, in which however the structure of these sentences is unacceptably confused. Especially the parenthetic clause ἔφθασε ... ἕως τῶν ἀκοῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἦχος ..., πρὸς τε (thus the ed.: πρὸς τὸ B) φιλοπάτωρ ... ὢν is conspicuous for the way in which the finite verb is followed by the conjunct part. which qualifies not the subject but the pronoun αὐτοῦ. K presents no linguistic problems and is undoubtedly right. The same is true about the words added by K after ἀναγνωρισθῆναι (line 7), where B lacks a finite verb which is present in K (ἐμφάνισεν).

19,15–16 Sullivan prints B's εὐθύμησεν rather than K's εὐθυμήσας, but the latter gives a more natural structure with three participles, εὐθυμήσας, ῥωσθεῖς, πτερωθεῖς, preceding the finite verb ὥρμησε (line 18).

19,21 ὥσπερ τισὶ θηρίοις καλάμου ἐπιτιμῶν αὐτοῖς is translated "chastising them [sc. the demons] even like some wild animals of the reed". But such a qualification of τισὶ θηρίοις would be strange (and what would those animals be?). An evident correction is καλάμῳ: "chastising them with a reed ..." (error found in both manuscripts).

³⁰ A new edition of this interesting text is being prepared as a doctoral thesis by Mr Johan Heldt.

20,8-9 The parenthetic part of the sentence marked by the dashes should include the relative clause ὅν ... ἐδήλωσεν; move the dash after ἐδήλωσεν (line 9) to after βασιλέως (line 8).

20,13-16 Sullivan follows B in printing ἐπειδὴ ἦσαν ... συναπαχθέντες and omitting ἐπεΐθοντο which K gives at the end of the clause (line 16), while omitting ἦσαν (line 13). But K's text, in which συναπαχθέντες is to be taken with the preceding phrase and the following words, τοῖς ... βεβήλοις, belong with ἐπεΐθοντο, is much more natural (in fact Sullivan's comma after συναπαχθέντες indicates such an interpretation).

29,23 Sullivan's ἐπ' αὐτόθι πού τινος (ἐπ' αὐτόθι του τινὸς BK) is an impossible expression. I suspect that που τινὸς, or θίπου τινὸς, of the manuscripts should be restored to τόπου τινὸς (cf. τῷ τόπῳ on line 31, referring to the same place), and that the preceding element is a corruption of an adjective qualifying the place as suitable for a rest.

33,10 Σπάρτεως (BK) is a case of transition from the first to the third declension, for which see Psaltes, *Grammatik*, 174. There is no need to accept Lampros' change Σπάρτης. Cf. on 9,45, above.

35,17 εἰ οὖν εὖρω χάριν (B): K's εὖρον is undoubtedly right.

35,29 The manuscripts' spelling ἰδρυνθῆναι is common (Psaltes, *Grammatik*, 228), and Lampros' ἰδρυθῆναι is not needed.

35,111 K's τὸ ἐντεῦθεν (τὸ om. B) is right. Cf. 39,16, where a similar omission is found in K.

35,118 Lacking a subject, ἔμελλε makes little sense (the editor's translation "there was no delay for ..." makes violence on the Greek). Read ἔμελε: "divine retribution did not care ... about the laws of charity."

35,134 ὃ φησιν (B): but ὥς φησιν (K) is preferable.

36,26 ὑπῆρξεν (B): but the imperfect ὑπῆρχεν (K) fits the context better.

38,3 ἱερὸν καταγώγιον (B): the weak ἱερὸν is certainly a repetition from the preceding line; read ἀρετῶν with K.

39,16 Sullivan's apparatus, in which it is implied that B gives τὸ γυμνάσιον (against K's καὶ τὸ γ.), is confusing when compared with the ed. of Lampsides, according to which B omits καὶ τὸ (p. 80,3). In any case B as reproduced by Lampsides gives the right text.

41,9 Lampros' emendation of χρησάμενοι (BK) to χρῆσόμενοι is not necessary. The part. should be taken to indicate an accompanying circumstance rather than a purpose; cf. A. Wifstrand, "Apostelgeschichte 25,13", *Erano*s 54 (1956), 123-137.

41,29 ἔμπλεω (B) is clearly wrong and must be changed to ἐμπλησ-

θεῖς in accordance with K (cf. line 13 of the same chapter); this seems to be the text translated by Sullivan ("filled with joy ...").

43,31 K's addition of ὄσῃν after πλείστην gives idiomatic Greek and should be accepted. Cf. line 56 f.

44,38 K's addition of τὰς ὁψείς after στρέψας is certainly right; with it the phrase forms a natural parallel to ἦρε τὸ ὄμμα on line 36.

47,3 πυρποληθεῖς (B): but πυρποληθέντες (K) is needed with the plural verbs ἥσθοντο and ἔθεον (lines 2 and 3).

47,12 The phrase is κατ' ἐκεῖνο (not ἐκεῖνω) τῆς ὥρας. There are analogous cases at 54,1, 60,76, 66,20 and 75,61.

49,1 ὄρα (... μνήμην ποιῆσθαι) should be changed to ὦρα etc. The author is unlikely to tell his readers (or rather, one of his readers) to "take care that memory is preserved of the miracles". Rather he announces his own intention to do that: "now it is time to relate the miracles ...". Curiously, Sullivan seems to adopt the right text when he quotes this passage in his Introduction (*Life*, p. 11).

50,5 There is no need for Lampros' change of προσκυνήσει (= -ήση) to προσκυνῆσαι after ἐφ' ᾧ, which is practically equal to ἵνα; cf. J. O. Rosenqvist, *The Hagiographic Dossier of St Eugenios of Trebizond in Codex Athous Dionysiou 154* (Uppsala, 1996), 227, line 1694, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναλάβοι.

53,5 For the manuscripts' κωλυθῆναι Sullivan seems to translate κολληθῆναι ("They were attached to his buttocks ..."). The latter does not even appear in his apparatus (it does appear in the apparatus of Lampsides, p. 209,24). It is an evident correction by Lampros and should be printed in the text.

55,25 ἄνωθεν τοῦ κιβωρίου is not "above the urn", but "from the ciborium above". But K's τάφου for κιβωρίου may well be right.

57,43 A phrase such as ἐξ ὑπὸ γῆς (B) which Sullivan prints is hardly conceivable in Greek and would, in addition, say the opposite of what the context requires (Sullivan violates his text by translating "flowed down underground"). Lampros' emendation ἐξ ὑπογυίου (reported in Lampsides' apparatus, p. 213,22) is certainly right; the same phrase, similarly corrupted, appears at 60,42.

58,60-61 B's ἐπήγγελλτο creates a surprising and unmotivated change of tense. K's ἐπηγγέλ<λ>ετο restores symmetry and should be preferred.

60,19-22 The construction is not clear. Sullivan's translation "it is quite difficult and troublesome for human nature" would correspond not to φύσις ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων which we find in the text, but rather to φύσει

τῇ τ. α. A change to the latter would be the easiest remedy to the problem.

63,29 Print K's τὴν rather than B's τι, which is impossible.

66,14 K's addition of ἦν is necessary, B's loss of it an easy error.

67,11 The text offered by B, εἴωθεν ἰατρεύεσθαι τῶν ἐλαιῶν οἱ καρποὶ, is obviously corrupt. Sullivan has changed the first two words to εἰώθασιν συντρίβεσθαι instead of accepting K's text, εἴωθεν ὁ τῶν ἐλαιῶν καρπὸς ἀποθλίβεσθαι. I suppose this is because ἀποθλίβεσθαι properly applies to the oil rather than the olives, and the former appears with the almost synonymous verb ἐκπιέζεσθαι on the next line. Still I think K's text is acceptable, and clearly not impossible. In this situation it is methodically unsound to emend the inferior reading of one manuscript rather than accept the superior one of the other. This reflects an attitude toward K whose natural consequence would be to discard this manuscript altogether.

69,7-8 Again B's text is corrupt, for σπουδῇ cannot be "understood" with ἡ πᾶσα (thus Sullivan in the Commentary, p. 302; unfortunately K omits the difficult passage altogether). The word needed may well be σπουδῇ, but to solve the problem it would have to be accepted into the text as a conjecture (note that on the same line B also omits the necessary word εἰς which is present in K). Lampsides (p. 138,32) changed ἡ πᾶσα to ἅπασι, but this will not do since it leaves the inf. μανθάνειν hanging in the air.

73,5 καὶ οὐδέ is hardly a possible combination here; follow K in deleting καὶ.

73,7 τοῖς αὐτοῖς κέκτῃται σπλάγχνοις (also Lampsides, p. 234,23) is impossible Greek; Lampros' correction κέχρηται should be accepted.

73,10 Print B's ἀκοαῖς rather than K's ἀκοῆς and take the word together with πολέμιον. The model of this common phrase is Gregory of Nazianzos, *Or.* 40, 1 (PG 36, col. 360B), κόρος λόγου πολέμιος ἀκοαῖς.

74,7 Print K's αὐτὸν rather than B's αὐτοῦ. An accus. subject of the six infinitives on lines 7-8 is needed, a genitive complement to ἐκστῆναι is not.

74,24 f. τὴν ... ἄλυσιν τῷ τένοντι αὐτοῦ ἐξαφθῆναι αὐτοῦ (B) is one αὐτοῦ too much (and can τένων mean "neck"?). This casts suspicion on B's version of this passage. K offers a text without any difficulties (see the apparatus at lines 24-25), but this might be the result of deliberate improvement of a bad model.

74,27 Follow K in omitting ὁ.

74,70 As appears from Lampsides' text ("Οσιος Νίκων, 150,3 and 235,33), the curious Οὐ δὲ is probably the editor's error for Οὐ.

75,17 B's τὸ is clearly a simple error for τοῦτο (K).

75,34 Translate εἰ καὶ μὴ ... σπουδαζόμενον, "But his plan did not develop as he wished".

75,60 I do not understand ἀπειδόμενοι. K's αἰδούμενοι suggests that B's ἀπηδόμενοι should be read as ἀπαιδούμενοι (thus Lampsides, "Οσιος Νίκων, p. 152,37), which is actually what Sullivan translates ("not ashamed to").

75,82-83 With B's τῷ ῥαγδαίῳ τῆς φορᾶς the preceding καὶ is superfluous, the following phrase οἷα φιλεῖ κ.τ.λ. lacks any reasonable reference, and as appears in Sullivan's translation the sense leaves something to be wished ("the wondrousness of the matter <was> intense on account of the swiftness of the fall"). None of these difficulties is present in K's text: that "the suddenness of the miracle filled all those who heard about it with shudder" (τὸ ῥαγδαῖον τῆς παραδοξοποιίας πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας θάμβους ἐνεπλησεν) is exactly "what usually happens in such circumstances" (οἷα φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις).

75,97 The active part. διατιθέντες (with an adverb) is impossible. Either accept K's διατιθέμενοι or correct to διατεθέντες.

76,9-10 The irregular aspiration οὐθ' ἐν ... οὐθ' ἐν (in both B and K) should not be normalized; for parallels, see Psaltes, *Grammatik*, 106.

76,16 K's πρωρέα is right; B's πλωρέα is a *vox nihili* (corrected by Lampsides, "Οσιος Νίκων, 156,8).

77,6-7 K's word order (ἄλλο τι) τῶν ἀνηνύτων ἐπιχειρεῖν is clearly right against B's τῶν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀνηνύτων, which cannot be what Sullivan translates as "undertake any other endless task" (in his Introduction, *Life*, p. 11, Sullivan quotes the passage in the form ἐπιχειρεῖν τῶν ἀνηνύτων, which is acceptable but apparently lacks any manuscript support).

77,7-8 K's ἀκοῇ χωρητὰ must be substituted for B's ἀκοῇ χωρεῖ. This restores symmetry and eliminates intolerably confused grammar.

ZUR LITERARISCHEN LEISTUNG DER ANNA KOMNENE

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Im Fall der *Alexias* Anna Komnenes sind wir in der glücklichen Lage, die Darstellung Annas über weite Passagen hinweg mit ihrer unmittelbaren Quelle, der *Τλη ιστορίας* ihres verstorbenen Gatten Nikephoros Bryennios, vergleichen zu können. Ein solcher auf die Anlage und Struktur der Erzählung gerichteter Vergleich ist eigenartigerweise bisher, von einzelnen beiläufigen Bemerkungen¹ abgesehen, nicht durchgeführt

¹ Gautier weist in seiner Ausgabe des *Nikephoros Bryennios* (Brüssel, 1973) in den Anmerkungen durchgängig diejenigen Passagen der *Alexias* nach, welchen die Erzählung des Bryennios als Quelle zugrundeliegt, beginnend mit S. 186 Anm. 1: "A partir d'ici, Anne Comnène (*Alexiade*, I, p. 11) paraphrase le texte de son mari, qu'il lui arrive cependant de reproduire par endroits littéralement." Die Intention dieser Hinweise Gautiers liegt jedoch (von Möglichkeiten der Heilung verderbter Textstellen mit Hilfe des Textes der *Alexias* abgesehen) allein im Aufzeigen eventuell historisch relevanter Differenzen oder Nuancierungen. Ein literarischer Vergleich wird von Gautier nicht unternommen. — Leib hatte in seiner Ausgabe der *Alexias* ebenfalls die großen Textlücke in der *Τλη ιστορίας*, die Anna als Quelle bemißt hat, nachgewiesen und gelegentlich ins Auge fallende Abweichungen hervorgehoben. So macht er z.B. darauf aufmerksam (I 19, Anm. 1), daß die Gegenüberstellung der Personen des Nikephoros Bryennios und seines militärischen Gegners Alexios Annas eigene Zutat sei, ebenso (I 27, Anm. 2) wie die Szene I 6,8-9 (I 27,15 - 28,7 Leib), die Friedrich Schiller in seiner Schrift *Über den moralischen Nutzen ästhetischer Sitten* behandelt hat (vgl. D. R. Reinsch, "Edition und Rezeption byzantinischer Historiker durch deutsche Humanisten", in: *Graeca und Rezeption byzantinischer Historiker durch deutsche Humanisten*, 59) *recentiora in Germania*, hgg. von H. Eideneier [= Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 59] (Wiesbaden, 1994), 47-63, dort 61-62). Zutat Annas, so hebt Leib hervor (I 30, Anm. 2), sind auch die Ausführungen über die Entstehung neuer Flußbetten durch Anschwemmung (I 30, 5-11 Leib), die ein entsprechendes Phänomen beim Fluß Varadar erklären. Drei der Bemerkungen Leibs zielen auf Literarisches: "Scène dramatisée chez Anne" (I 26, Anm. 4), "Passage très dramatisé chez Anne" (I 35, Anm. 2) und "Anne est plus pittoresque" (I 33, Anm. 2). — G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena. A Study* (Oxford, 1929; repr. 1968) geht auf das Verhältnis der beiden Werke zueinander nur unter dem Aspekt der Quellenbenutzung durch Anna ein, im Abschlußkapitel ihres Buches "Anna as a writer" sagt sie darüber nichts. — Das von R.-J. Lilie mit dem Titel "Anna Komnene als Literatin" überschriebene Kapitel seiner Abhandlung *Der Erste Kreuzzug in*

worden, was wohl damit zusammenhängt, daß die Byzantinisten allgemein es bisher nur in Ansätzen unternommen haben, ihre Gegenstände unter literarischem Aspekt und nicht nur als Quellen zu sehen. Der mit dieser Festschrift Geehrte gehört an hervorragender Stelle zu denjenigen, die sich auch für das Literarische byzantinischer Texte interessieren, und daher sollen ihm die folgenden Zeilen gewidmet sein.

In der programmatischen Erklärung des Bryennios im Prooimion seines Werkes² führt dieser aus, er wolle der Aufforderung seiner Schwiegermutter Eirene Dukaina nachkommen und die Taten des großen Alexios, ihres Gatten, aufzeichnen: τὰς Ἀλεξίου τοῦ μεγάλου πράξεις συναγαγεῖν (71,19–20 Gautier). Den Anspruch, ein Erzeugnis besonderer literarischer Kunst zu schaffen, erhebt Bryennios ausdrücklich nicht; seine Aufzeichnungen wollen weder ein schon ausgearbeitetes historiographisches Werk sein (οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν προήρημαι) noch ein Enkomion (οὔτε πλέκειν ἐκείνῳ ἐγκώμιον). Wie auch der von ihm im Prooimion genannte Titel Ὑλη ἱστορίας ausdrückt, möchte Bryennios nur das Material für entsprechende Arbeiten mit literarischem Anspruch bereitstellen: ἀφορμὴν τινα παρασχεῖν ... τοῖς τὰ ἐκείνου συγγράφειν ἐθέλουσι.

Anna zitiert in ihren programmatischen Äußerungen im Prooimion der *Alexias*³ das Prooimion des Bryennios (προείλετο ... τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀλέξιον ... συγγράψαι ... καὶ ἐν βίβλοις ἐνθεῖναι τὰς πράξεις τῆς

der Darstellung Anna Komnenes, in: ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑ 6 [= Varia, II] (Bonn, 1987), 49–148, dort 105–108, trägt zur literarischen Interpretation nichts bei.

² § 11 (71,18 – 73,11 Gautier). Nur dieser letzte Abschnitt des akephal überlieferten Textes des Prooimions stammt von Bryennios, wie Seger einwandfrei nachgewiesen hat: J. Seger, *Byzantinische Historiker des zehnten und elften Jahrhunderts. I. Nikephoros Bryennios. Eine philologisch-historische Untersuchung* (München, 1888), 83–106. Seiner Auffassung schließt sich Gautier (47–51) zu Recht an. Ebenfalls zu Recht weist Gautier hingegen die Auffassung Segers zurück, die hinzugefügten Teile des Prooimions mit ihrem Plaidoyer für die Rechtmäßigkeit der Usurpation des Alexios seien in den Jahren 1090–1100 entstanden; Gautier läßt seinerseits die Frage nach dem möglichen Motiv für diesen späteren Rechtfertigungsversuch offen: "Nous ne disposons pas du moindre argument pour expliquer la confection de ce plaidoyer". Ich nehme an, daß dieser Zusatz denselben Kreisen zuzuweisen ist, in welchen wahrscheinlich um das Jahr 1180 der Text der *Alexias* an mehreren Stellen in der gleichen Richtung "geschönt" wurde (vgl. dazu D. R. Reinsch, "Zum Text der *Alexias* Anna Komnenes", *JÖB* 40 [1990], 233–268, dort 245–247).

³ Zum "Programm" Annas insgesamt vgl. A. Kambylis, "Zum 'Programm' der byzantinischen Historikerin Anna Komnene", in: ΔΩΡΗΜΑ. Hans Diller zum 70. Geburtstag (Athen, 1975), 127–146.

βασιλείας αὐτοῦ. Sie verweist auf das Werk ihres verstorbenen Gatten, hier und auch an anderen Stellen, natürlich ohne dessen bescheidenen Verzicht auf literarische Ansprüche zu wiederholen; im Gegenteil, sie preist es, als erfülle es auch solche Ansprüche in höchstem Maße, und spricht von der ἡδονῇ, welche den Lesern dadurch entgangen sei, daß Bryennios nur einen Teil seines Vorhabens verwirklichen konnte⁴. An anderer Stelle⁵ nennt sie das Geschichtswerk (ιστορία) des Bryennios ein σῆγμα ἄξιον λόγου καὶ ἀναγνώσεως. Dennoch setzt sie keineswegs, wie man es hätte erwarten können, mit ihrer Darstellung erst dort ein, wo Bryennios abbricht, nämlich mit den Ereignissen um die Revolte des Nikephoros Melissenos (Anfang 1081), sondern sie greift in ihrer Erzählung bereits von Bryennios (ab II 21 = 187,6 Gautier) geschilderte Ereignisse noch einmal auf, da sie im Gegensatz zu diesem durchaus den Anspruch erhebt, ein auch formalen literarischen Ansprüchen voll genügendes Geschichtswerk zu verfassen. Ich will, so sind ihre Worte, διὰ τῆςδε μου τῆς γραφῆς τὰς πράξεις ἀφηγήσασθαι τοῦμοῦ πατρός.

Bryennios beginnt seine Darstellung weit ausholend mit dem Großvater des Alexios, Manuel Komnenos (Erotikos), erst ab Buch II übernimmt der Enkel Alexios ganz allmählich die Position des Protagonisten der Erzählung, doch auch am Ende von Buch IV, als die Erzählung abbricht, hat er diese immer noch nicht voll erreicht; die letzten Kapitel (33–40, S. 303,15 – 311,20) sind der Kampagne des Protovestiarios Ioannes in Bithynien gegen Nikephoros Melissenos gewidmet.

Anna benutzt aus diesem ganzen Material für die Kapitel 2–9 des ersten Buches der *Alexias* folgende drei Abschnitte (insgesamt etwa ein Fünftel des Gesamttextes des Bryennios):

Bryennios II 21–25 (S. 187,6 – 197,8 Gautier) ≈ *Alexias* I 2,1 – 3,4 (I 11,14 – 16,31 Leib).

Bryennios IV 4–17 (S. 265,5 – 283,26 Gautier) ≈ *Alexias* I 4–6 (I 17,1 – 28,14 Leib).

Bryennios IV 18–28 (S. 285,1 – 297,25 Gautier) ≈ *Alexias* I 7–9 (I 28,15 – 36,20 Leib).

Bei einer Gegenüberstellung der auch innerhalb dieser Abschnitte berührten Inhalte fällt sofort auf, daß die Darstellung des Bryennios weit mehr und ganz verschiedene Ereignisse behandelt. Anna konzentriert und verdichtet diese losere Schilderung ihrer Quelle auf wenige, für ihr Darstellungsziel in diesem Teil ihres Werkes wesentliche Momente. Ihr

⁴ I 6,9 Leib.

⁵ II 91,23–26 Leib.

kommt es darauf an, ein Bild des jugendlichen Generals Alexios Komnenos zu entwerfen, das ihn über drei Stufen, die militärischen Bewährungsproben gegen Urselios (Roussel von Bailleul), gegen Nikephoros Bryennios (den Großvater ihres Gatten) und gegen Nikephoros Basilakes, an die Schwelle der kaiserlichen Macht führt, die er dann zunächst wiederum als General im Kampf mit dem großen Gegenspieler des Reiches, Robert Guiskard, zu verteidigen hat. Die Auswahl, welche Anna aus dem in der *Ἑλλη ιστορίᾳς* enthaltenen Material getroffen hat, ist ganz von der Gesamtkomposition des ersten Buches der *Alexias* bestimmt: Die erste Hälfte (Kapitel 1–9) entwirft das Bild des Feldherrn Alexios; die zweite Hälfte (Kapitel 10–16) schildert den Aufstieg des großen Gegenspielers des jungen Kaisers Alexios, des Normannenfürsten Robert Guiskard. Das erste Buch ist seinerseits wiederum ganz auf die Bücher IV–VI hin konzipiert, die dem Kampf zwischen Alexios und den Normannen gewidmet sind (dieser Erzählstrang beginnt mit den konkreten Vorbereitungen Roberts in Buch III 12), während die eingeschalteten Bücher II und III die Ereignisse in Konstantinopel im Zuge der Rebellion und Machtergreifung des Alexios schildern.

Auf das Ziel, die Figur des Alexios aufzubauen, ist die gesamte Darstellung in Buch I 1–9 mit erstaunlicher, fast dichterisch zu nennender Konsequenz ausgerichtet. Daher hat Anna nur die drei genannten Episoden ausgewählt, und wir lesen bei ihr nichts von den Taten des Alexios-Bruders Isaak Komnenos als Dux von Antiocheia (*Bryennios* II 28–29), nichts von den Vorbereitungen für die Eheschließung des Alexios mit Eirene Dukaina (*Bryennios* III 6 und III 13) und auch nichts von seinen kleineren militärischen Bewährungsproben, etwa bei der Verteidigung von Konstantinopel gegen die Truppen des Nikephoros Bryennios (*Bryennios* III 13). Anna beschränkt ihre Darstellung der ἀθλὰ des jungen Alexios vor seinem Kampf um die Kaisermacht auf die militärischen Erfolge gegen die Usurpatoren Roussel, Bryennios und Basilakes. Daher fehlt konsequenterweise gegenüber ihrer Quelle auch gänzlich die Rolle, die Alexios bei der Usurpation des Nikephoros Botaneiates als Ratgeber Michaels VII. Dukas gespielt hat (*Bryennios* III 20–22).

Die Erzählung Annas ist gegenüber Bryennios gestrafft und auf den wesentlichen und für das Darstellungsziel aussagekräftigen Erzählzug beschränkt. Dieses Prinzip hat sie selbst programmatisch formuliert⁶: τίνα δὲ τὸν τρόπον εἶλεν ἐκεῖνον (sc. den Urselios), δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ ὁ

⁶ I 1,3 (I 11,10–13 Leib).

καίσαρ⁷ (sc. Bryennios) ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστορίας βίβλῳ πλατύτερον, δηλώσομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐφ' ὅσον εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱστορίαν συνήνεγκεν. Anna verweist daher mehrfach auf die Darstellung des Bryennios, um für die eigene Darstellung freie Hand zu gewinnen.

Betrachten wir im einzelnen, wie das Prinzip der Straffung und Beschränkung auf Erzählzüge, die dem eigenen speziellen Erzählziel dienen, die Ökonomie der Darstellung innerhalb der einzelnen Episoden bestimmt.

1. DIE URSELIOS-EPISODE (ALEXIAS I 2,1-3,4).

Die bunte Vielfalt der Ereignisse, die Bryennios von der Erhebung des Roussel von Bailleul berichtet (II 4-28), ist bei Anna reduziert auf die Gefangennahme und die vorgetäuschte Blendung des Roussel in Amaseia. Die Rebellion selbst und die langen Kämpfe gegen den Usurpator, die bei Bryennios weit ausholend ab Buch II 4 erzählt werden, übergeht Anna; sie setzt erst bei der letzten Episode vor seiner Gefangennahme ein, als Roussel versucht hatte, mit dem aus Anatolien herangezogenen Selçuken-Emir Tutach (Artuk) ein Bündnis zu schließen, aber von Alexios bei Tutach ausgestochen wurde. Roussel wird an Alexios nach Amaseia ausgeliefert, und Alexios überzeugt die zunächst gar nicht begeisterten Bürger der Stadt davon, die Tutach für die Auslieferung Roussels versprochene Geldsumme aufzubringen. Die Roussel-Partei unter den Bürgern, die ihn befreien und wieder Tutach überstellen möchte, bringt er durch ein vermeintliches *Fait accompli* zum Schweigen: Er läßt Roussel zum Schein blenden. Alles ist in Annas Darstellung darauf ausgerichtet, ein bestimmtes Profil von Alexios zu zeichnen: seine diplomatische Kunst, die dazu führt, daß Tutach Roussel-Urselios festnehmen und nach Amaseia ausliefern läßt, sein psychologisches und rhetorisches Geschick im Umgang mit der aufgebrachten Menge ebendort, die von Alexios ausgedachte und inszenierte List der vorgespielten Blendung. Anna nimmt die Gelegenheit wahr zu zeigen, wie sich die Herrschertugend der φιλοανθρωπία bei Alexios in einer konkreten Situation eindrucksvoll bewährt, nachdem die Erfindungsgabe (τέχνη) die Voraussetzungen dafür geschaffen hat. Sie erläutert selbst das Erzählprogramm indirekt mit folgeschaffen Worten, die aus dem Blickwinkel einer der handelnden Personen, des Theodoros Dokeianos, eines Cousins des Alexios, formuliert sind:

⁷ Abweichungen vom Text der Ausgabe von B. Leib (Paris 1937-1945) repräsentieren diejenige Textform, die in der von A. Kambylis und mir vorbereiteten Ausgabe im Rahmen des CFHB, Series Berolinensis, stehen wird.

τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ φιланθρωπίαν τοῦ ἐξαδελφου κατεμάθανε καὶ μετὰ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τὴν τέχνην.⁸ Die Verbindung dieser beiden Eigenschaften wird an der geschilderten Episode sinnfällig gemacht, die durch ihre dramatische Zuspitzung und den effektvollen Schluß (der Leser weiß Bescheid, nicht aber die in der Erzählung agierende Figur des Dokeianos) ihre besondere Wirkung auf den Leser ausübt.

Auffällig bei der Benutzung der Quelle *Bryennios* durch Anna ist dabei der Umstand, daß wörtliche Übernahmen größeren Umfangs allein die direkten Reden des Alexios betreffen.⁹ Natürlich gilt für *Bryennios* wie für Anna das von Thukydides formulierte und in der gesamten antiken und byzantinischen Historiographie befolgte Prinzip, daß die in den Geschichtswerken enthaltenen Reden nicht in dem Sinne authentisch sind, daß sie die *ipsissima verba* des jeweiligen Sprechers wiedergeben, sondern nur insofern, als sie entweder den generellen Tenor des tatsächlich Gesagten enthalten oder aber die Intention zum Ausdruck bringen, welche den Sprecher nach Meinung des schreibenden Historikers geleitet haben müßte. Hier scheint indessen ein besonderer Fall vorzuliegen. Warum übernimmt Anna, die in den erzählenden Passagen durchgehend die Formulierungen des *Bryennios* durch ihre eigenen ersetzt, hier in den wörtlich angeführten Äußerungen des Protagonisten sehr weitgehend die von *Bryennios* vorgegebenen Formulierungen? Der Umstand ist kaum durch Mangel an literarischer Erfindungsgabe oder rhetorischer Gestaltungskraft zu erklären. Wir müssen wohl annehmen, daß Anna diesen Äußerungen ihres Vaters, so wie sie diese im Werk ihres verstorbenen Mannes vorfand, Authentizität zugeschrieben hat, und daß sie sich dadurch gehindert sah, den Wortlaut hier in gleichem Maße zu ändern wie in den erzählenden Passagen.

2. DIE BRYENNIOS-EPISODE (ALEXIAS I 4,1–6,9).

Hier beschränkt sich Anna in ihrer Darstellung (I 17 sqq. Leib) ganz strikt auf die eigentliche Kampagne, ohne auf die Details aus der Vorgeschichte der militärischen Aktionen wie Gesandtschaften usw. einzugehen, welche bei *Bryennios* IV 2–3 berichtet werden. Umfangreichere wörtliche Übernahmen finden sich in der Schilderung der Heeresformation des *Bryennios*; aber auch hier erhöht Anna durch rhetorische αὐξη-

⁸ I 16,25–27 Leib.

⁹ G. Buckler (wie oben Anm. 1), 231 hat darauf hingewiesen, daß sich Anna in den drei Reden, die Alexios in ihrer Darstellung der Urselios-Episode hält, besonders eng an den Text des *Bryennios* anschließt.

αὐτῆς und fügt den Vergleich des Bryennios mit Ares bzw. einem Giganten hinzu. Von den Ereignissen vor der Schlacht fehlt gegenüber der Quelle die schriftlich an Alexios ergangene Aufforderung seines Kaisers Botaneiates, den offenen Kampf zu meiden (*Bryennios* 271,3–11 Gautier).

Die Schilderung des eigentlichen Entscheidungskampfes (*Alexias* I 6) folgt der Quelle (*Bryennios* IV 10) in der Sache sehr genau, aber variiert durchgehend die Formulierung. Fast keine Wendung wird wörtlich übernommen, und zwei volle Sätze der *Alexias* haben überhaupt keine Entsprechung in ihrer Vorlage: I 24,23–25 Leib *διστάλπιζε γὰρ ἡ φήμη τὸ στρατεύμα, ὥς ἄρα καὶ οἱ φράγγοι τοῦτοις προσέθεντο τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον καταλελοιπότες Ἀλέξιον*. Der Satz dient zum besseren Verständnis des Geschehens; das ganze Heer des Bryennios war in Unordnung, weil aus allen Abteilungen Soldaten herzugeeilt waren, um die übergelaufenen Lateiner zu sehen. Der zweite Satz (*Alexias* I 24,30–31 Leib) hebt Alexios' Fähigkeiten als Feldherr hervor, da er eigens betont, daß die entscheidende Planungsarbeit für den Angriff auf die siegessicheren Gegner von Alexios selbst geleistet worden war: *καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν τῆς ταύτης διαταγῆς ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα Ἀλέξιον ἀνεφέρετο*.

Auffälligerweise fehlen diese beiden Perikopen auch im Text der im cod. Vaticanus gr. 981 überlieferten Epitome des *Alexias*-Textes, die hier am Anfang des gesamten Werkes den ursprünglichen Text noch ziemlich vollständig reproduziert. Es ist natürlich theoretisch nicht auszuschließen, daß der Epitomator exakt diese beiden Sätze ausgelassen hat, die Anna dem Text ihrer Vorlage hinzugefügt hatte; wahrscheinlicher aber ist, daß der Epitomator einen Text vor sich hatte, welcher diese beiden Sätze *noch nicht* enthielt, d.h. daß Anna diese Sätze bei der Herstellung der redaktionell veränderten Fassung, deren Ergebnis uns im cod. Laurentianus 70,2 (F) vorliegt, eingefügt hat. Für diese Annahme spricht der Umstand, daß F auch noch an weiteren Stellen Textformen aufweist, die als Umarbeitungen der ursprünglichen Fassung anzusehen sind, wie sie noch in der Epitome für uns greifbar sind. Die Epitome stimmt nämlich auch an diesen weiteren Stellen mit dem Text des Bryennios überein, während F diesen beiden gegenüber eine veränderte Textfassung aufweist: I 20,22–24 Leib *ἔξωθεν δὲ τοῦ τάγματος ὅλον ὡσανεὶ δυοῖν σταδίων διάστημα* *Ἐκύθαι τινὲς ἦσαν σύμμαχοι βαρβαρικοῖς κεκοσμημένοι τοῖς ὅπλοις* überliefert F, entstanden durch Bearbeitung aus *ἔξωθεν δὲ τοῦ ἐναντίου κέρματος ὡς ἀπὸ δυοῖν σταδίων διάστημα* usw., wie der Text in der Epitome lautet; dieser basiert auf *Bryennios* 269,20–22 Gautier *ἔξωθεν δὲ τοῦ ἐναντίου κέρως τὸ συμμεχικὸν* *Ἐκύθαι καὶ ἐτέτακτο προτρέχον ταύτης δυοῖν σταδίων διάστημα*. Ein weiteres

Beispiel: I 22,2 Leib überliefert F πλήττων ἑκάστον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰόντα, während wir in der Epitome lesen τιτρώσκων τε τὸν εἰς χεῖρας ἰόντα, was der Vorlage *Bryennios* 271,28–29 Gautier καὶ τοὺς εἰς χεῖρας ἰόντας κατέβαλεν näher steht als F. In allen Fällen folgt einer ersten Stufe der Verarbeitung der Quelle, die für uns in der am Anfang des Werkes noch fast den vollen Text wiedergebenden Epitome greifbar ist, eine zweite Stufe, repräsentiert durch F, auf welcher die Verfasserin interpretierende Linien nachzieht und die herausragende Rolle ihres Vaters noch stärker konturiert.

Bei der Schilderung des Kampfes selbst, einer kleinen Aristie, konzentriert sich Anna gegenüber ihrer Quelle auf die Hauptgestalt Bryennios. Sie läßt Einzelheiten, welche ihre Vorlage über den Bruder des Usurpators berichtet (*Bryennios* 277,15–29; 279,11–15 Gautier), gezielt beiseite und zieht die ausführliche Darstellung zu einem einzigen Satz zusammen: συνήρατο δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους καὶ ὁ υἱός, καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ θαῦμα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐδείχθησαν ἥρωϊκῶς ἀνταγωνισάμενοι (I 26,9–11 Leib). Dagegen erfährt die Schilderung der persönlichen Aristie des Usurpators eine dramatische Steigerung. Nach *Bryennios* 279,17–19 Gautier schlägt sein Großvater einem auf ihn einstürmenden Türken die schwertführende Hand bzw. den Arm ab. Dieselbe Episode berichtet auch Anna (*Alexias* I 26,16–20 Leib). Danach fährt Bryennios in seiner Erzählung folgendermaßen fort: Sein Großvater ist mit einer Lanze beschäftigt, die ihn leicht getroffen hatte, als eben jener Türke, dem er die Hand oder den Arm abgeschlagen hatte, von seinem Pferd abspringt (dann hinter Bryennios auf dessen Pferd aufspringt) und versucht, ihm auf den Rücken zu steigen; dieser wiederum macht vergebliche Anstrengungen, den Widersacher hinter ihm mit seinem Schwert zu treffen: ὁ πρῶτος¹⁰ τὴν χεῖρα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκμηθεῖς Τοῦρκος τοῦ ἵππου καταπηδήσας ἐπιβαίνει τοῖς νώτοις τοῦ Βρυεννίου· ὁ δ' ἐπιστρέφων τὸν ἀκινάκην οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν παῖειν αὐτὸν τοῖς νώτοις τούτου κρυπτόμενον (*Bryennios* 279,22–25 Gautier). Die Ausdruckswiese ist sehr verkürzt, und die Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß jemand, dem gerade der Arm abgeschlagen wurde, von hinten auf das Pferd des Gegners springt, um mit diesem weiterzukämpfen, ist nicht als sehr groß anzusehen.¹¹ In der entsprechenden Passage der *Alexias* ist es denn auch

¹⁰ Wohl in *πρῶτος* zu ändern.

¹¹ Gautier (S. 278, Anm. 2) hat daher auch Bedenken gegen den überlieferten Text geäußert.

nicht derselbe Türke, dem Bryennios gerade vorher die Hand abgeschlagen hatte, der ihn kurz darauf von hinten anspringt, sondern ein anderer. Dessen Aktion schildert Anna in sehr dramatischer und plastischer Weise, indem sie den von hinten auf das Pferd des Bryennios springenden Mann mit einem Leoparden vergleicht: ἄτερος δὲ τοῦτιων τοῦ ἰδίου ἵππου καταπηδήσας καθάπερ τις πάρδαλις ἤλλατο¹² ἐπὶ τοῦ εἵχετο ἀπρίξ καὶ ἐπιβαίνειν ἐπειράτο τοῦ νώτου, ὃ δὲ καθάπερ θηρίον ἐπιστρέψας ἐαυτὸν ἐκκεντεῖν διὰ τοῦ ξίφους ἐβούλετο. οὐ μόντοι κατὰ ζομένου καὶ τὰς τρώσεις ἐκφεύγοντος (Alexias I 26,20-27 Leih). Bryennios gibt einen trockenen Bericht, Anna hingegen gestaltet die Szene aus, indem sie zwei Vergleiche einfügt (καθάπερ τις πάρδαλις und καθάπερ θηρίον ἐπιστρέψας ἐαυτὸν¹³) sowie durch die Verwendung zusätzlicher Verbalformen (ἤλλατο, ἐναρμόσας ἐαυτὸν, εἵχετο ἀπρίξ, ἐκκεντεῖν ἐβούλετο, λυγίζομένου, ἐκφεύγοντος) den Vorgang veranschaulicht. Die nachfolgende Szene, in welcher sich Bryennios der Übermacht ergibt, ist bei Anna mit einem einzigen kraftvollen Strich gezeichnet (ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ δεξιὰ αὐτῷ ἀπειρήκει κενεμβατοῦσα καὶ ἀπείπεν ὁ ἀθλητής, ἐνταῦθα πρὸς ἅπασαν χεῖρα πολεμίων ἐνδεδώκεν ἐαυτόν), während die Darstellung bei Bryennios in einem gleichmäßigen Berichtstil dahingleitet (ἔως μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ ἡ χεὶρ οὐ κεκοπίακεν, οὐκ ἐνέδωκε παίῳ τε καὶ παιόμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰκοπος ἤδη γέγονεν, εἶξε καὶ ἄκων ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρακλήσεσι καὶ οὕτω συνέβη τοῦτον ἀλῶναι. Anna erwähnt nicht den von Bryennios mitgeteilten Umstand, daß die Türken von den Pferden abgestiegen waren und Bryennios beschworen, nicht selber den Tod zu suchen; auch das tut sie, um die Dramatik zu steigern.

Am Ende des Bryennios-Abschnittes fügt Anna gegenüber ihrer schriftlichen Quelle eine Episode ein (Alexias I 6,8-9), welche sie den berufenen Mund des Hauptbeteiligten, wie sie schreibt, oft habe erzählen hören. Als dieser nämlich, der Usurpator Bryennios, nach seiner militärischen Niederlage von Alexios in eigener Person nach Konstantinopel eskortiert wurde und die beiden Feldherren schon eine beträchtliche Strecke geritten waren, schlug Alexios, der die düsteren Gedanken seines Gefangenen unterbrechen wollte, vor, sie sollten sich eine Weile aus-

¹² Zu der von der Ausgabe Leih's abweichenden Textgestaltung vgl. oben Anm. 7.

¹³ Eine zuerst bei Platon, Resp. 336 b 5 belegte Wendung, die Anna auch noch an anderer Stelle (II 219,24 und III 94,7 Leih) gebraucht.

ruhen. So stiegen sie denn von ihren Pferden, Alexios hängte sein Schwert an den Ast eines Baumes, streckte sich im Gras aus und schlief. Nicht so Bryennios, der sich verständlicherweise um sein zukünftiges Schicksal große Sorgen machte (in der Tat wurde er vom Beauftragten des Kaisers Botaneiates kurze Zeit später geblendet); sein Blick ging immer wieder auf das am Baum hängende Schwert seines Bewachers, und er beschloß, dieses zu ergreifen und den schlafenden Alexios zu töten. Er führte jedoch diesen Plan nicht aus, da Gott (in der Formulierung Annas eine *θεία δύναμις*) ihn rechtzeitig davon abbrachte.

Der Gedanke, daß die göttliche Vorsehung beim Sieg des Alexios über Bryennios ihre Hand im Spiel hatte, ist schon in der Quelle *Bryennios* ausgedrückt (281,24–26 Gautier): *συνέριθον λαβῶν καὶ τὴν ἄνωθεν πρόνοιαν. δι' ἣν τὰ τέλη κατορθοῦνται*¹⁴ *τῶν ἐγχειρήσεων*. Anna hingegen zeigt das Eingreifen der Vorsehung, die Alexios für das Kaiseramt bewahren wollte, konkret in der moralischen Grenzsituation des Bryennios, welche durch ihre Eindringlichkeit, die sie in der Schilderung Annas gewonnen hat, Friedrich Schiller und nach ihm Dionysios Solomos zu philosophisch-literarischer Bearbeitung inspiriert hat.¹⁵ Die anekdotische Erzählung stellt das moralische Problem konkret dar und erfüllt in der Ökonomie des Ganzen einen doppelten Zweck: Einmal zeigt sie ein weiteres Mal die *φιλανθρωπία* und die Generosität des Alexios¹⁶, und sie dient zum anderen gleichzeitig dazu, die Usurpation der Macht durch Alexios als gottgewollt zu erweisen.

3. DIE BASILAKIOS-EPISODE (ALEXIAS I 7,1–9,6).

Anna folgt hier weitgehend der in ihrer Quelle *Bryennios* vorgegebenen Ereigniskette: Kaum zurück in Konstantinopel von seiner Mission gegen Bryennios, wird Alexios vom Kaiser und seinen Ministern gegen Basilakios ins Feld geschickt. Er lagert seine Truppen am Vardar (Axios), zwischen einem Altarm und dem aktuellen Flußbett, und kommt dem von ihm erwarteten nächtlichen Angriff des Basilakios zuvor, indem er sein Lager evakuiert, durch ein Vielzahl brennender Fackeln und anderer Lichter aber für den Angreifer den Anschein erweckt, als befänden er

¹⁴ Wohl so zu schreiben statt *κατορθοῦνται* Gautier.

¹⁵ Vgl. oben Anm. 1.

¹⁶ I 27,11–15 Leib von Anna ausdrücklich hervorgehoben: οὐ γὰρ ἦν τοιοῦτος ὁ Κομνηνός ὥστε μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν ἐπεξέρχεσθαι τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτὸν καταστάσιν, ἀλλ' εἰς τιμωρίαν αὐτάρκη ἐνόμιζε τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἄλωσιν. τῷ δ' ἐντεῖθεν φιλανθρωπία τε καὶ φιλοφροσύνη καὶ φιλοτιμία πολλή· ὅπερ κἀν τῷ Βρυεννίῳ ἐνεδείξατο.

und seine Truppe sich noch dort in tiefem Schlaf. Basilakios dringt in das verlassene Lager ein, sucht Alexios vergebens in dessen Feldherrnzelt und gibt seiner Enttäuschung lauthals Ausdruck. Es folgen mehrere Einzelaktionen des anschließenden nächtlichen Kampfes, die Anna in der Reihenfolge ihrer Vorlage übernimmt: Alexios verwundet einen Krieger schwer, den er für Basilakios gehalten hatte; Gules zerbricht im Kampf mit Basilakios sein Schwert, wird von Alexios beschuldigt, seine Waffe aus Feigheit verloren oder weggeworfen zu haben, kann diesen aber von seiner Unschuld überzeugen; Petros Tornikios zeichnet sich im Kampf aus, ebenso wie Alexios selbst, der fast von einem Lateiner aus Versehen im Dunkeln mit der Lanze aus dem Sattel gehoben worden wäre und auch in diesem Fall nach anfänglichem Zorn den Irrtum des Täters anerkennt. Schließlich, nach weiteren Kampfhandlungen am nächsten Morgen, flieht Basilakios nach Thessalonike und wird am Ende von den Bewohnern an Alexios ausgeliefert und später von den Abgesandten des Kaisers Botaneiates übernommen und geblendet. In den Ablauf dieser Erzählkette greift Anna nicht ein, da eine Straffung für ihr Ziel auch nicht erforderlich ist; nur am Anfang übergeht sie die bei *Bryennios* geschilderte Behandlung der Anhänger seines Großvaters durch Botaneiates (285,1-7. 9-10 Gautier).

Jedoch verändert Anna den Stellenwert der Basilakios-Episode innerhalb des Gesamtaufbaus. Bei *Bryennios* ein Ereignis unter vielen und in seiner Bedeutung weit hinter der Auseinandersetzung mit Bryennios zurückstehend, wird sie im Gesamtkonzept von Buch I der *Alexias* der vorläufige Höhepunkt auf dem Weg des Alexios zur Kaisermacht und zum entscheidenden Kampf mit Robert Guiskard. Um diese Klimax (Urselios - Bryennios - Basilakios) zu erreichen, muß Basilakios gegenüber dem von *Bryennios* vermittelten Bild aufgewertet werden.¹⁷ Anna erreicht das, indem sie von ihm das Porträt eines herausragenden Feldherrn mit charismatischen Führerqualitäten und großer persönlicher Tapferkeit entwirft (28,25 - 29,22 Leib): "Dieser Basilakios nämlich war einer von den Männern, die größte Bewunderung genossen sowohl wegen ihrer Tapferkeit und Beherztheit als auch wegen ihrer Kühnheit und Stärke. Da er zudem auch sehr machtgierig war, verschaffte er sich die höchsten Ämter und Ehrentitel; um einige bemühte er sich regulär, andere legte er sich selbstherrlich zu. Denn nachdem Bryennios gestürzt worden war, übernahm er gleichsam als sein Nachfolger dessen gesamten Plan zur

¹⁷ Diese Aufwertung ist richtig gesehen und hervorgehoben von B. Skoulatos. *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), 38-39.

Usurpation. Und von Epidamnos aus (dies ist die Hauptstadt des Illyrikon) zog er bis zur Stadt der Thessaler und machte sich alles untertan, ließ sich selbst zum Basileus wählen und ausrufen und führte das vagabundierende Heer des Bryennios, wohin er nur wollte; denn er wurde vor allem auch wegen seiner Körpergröße, der Kraft seiner Arme und wegen des ehrfurchtgebietenden Ausdrucks seines Gesichtes bewundert, was mehr als alles andere auf dieses ungebildete Soldatenvolk Eindruck macht. Dessen Blick dringt nämlich nicht bis ins Innere vor und achtet auch nicht auf Mannestugend, sondern es macht bei den körperlichen Vorzügen halt, indem es Draufgängertum, Kraft, Schnelligkeit und Größe bewundert und diese Eigenschaften des Purpurkleides und der Krone für würdig hält. Er aber, auch in dieser Hinsicht nicht ohne Größe, hatte außerdem noch ein mutiges und unerschrockenes Herz, kurz: Dieser Basilakios besaß die Ausstrahlung und das Aussehen eines Anwärters auf den Kaiserthron. Seine Stimme war laut wie Donnergetöse und imstande, ein ganzes Heer in Schrecken zu versetzen, und sein Schrei genügte, um auch ein kühnes Herz zu entmutigen. Und unwiderstehlich war seine Rede, ob er nun die Soldaten zum Kampf anfeuern oder zur Flucht bewegen wollte. Mit solchen Vorzügen ausgerüstet, versammelte dieser Mann ein unschlagbares Heer um sich und eroberte die Hauptstadt der Thessaler, wie ich schon berichtet habe."¹⁸ Denselben Zweck der Erhöhung dient die Heranziehung der mythologischen Vergleiche, welche Anna anstellt. Basilakios ist für sie wie der Riese Typhon oder der hundertarmige Briareos (I 29,23 Leib). Am Ende der Episode (I 36,11 sqq. Leib) wird über einen ganzen Absatz Basilakios mit dem Erymanthischen Eber verglichen, und entsprechend übernimmt Alexios mit diesem seinem dritten ἄθλος die Rolle des Herakles.¹⁹ Bei

¹⁸ Diese Charakterisierung widerspricht dem von *Bryennios* vermittelten Bild des Basilakios keineswegs, doch handelt es sich dort um eine mehr beiläufige Betonung seiner Körperkraft, seiner unbeherrschten Kühnheit und allgemein seiner militärischen Tüchtigkeit: ὃς ῥωμαλέος μὲν ὢν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα γενναῖος, θρασὺς δὲ ἄλλως καὶ δυσκάθεκτος ταῖς ὀρμαῖς (107,23 – 109,2 Gautier) und ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολεμικά (217,9–10 Gautier).

¹⁹ Das Motiv war am Anfang der Episode (I 29,29 Leib) schon angeklungen, da dort Alexios mit einem Löwen verglichen wird, Basilakios hingegen mit einem mit mächtigen Zähnen bewehrten Eber (χαυλιόδους σῦς). — Auffälligerweise vermeidet es Anna, in ihre Darstellung dieselben Zitate aus der antiken Literatur zu übernehmen, mit welchen *Bryennios* an einigen Stellen seinen Text überhöht hat. Dieser hatte den Morgen nach dem Nachtkampf mit einem Zitat aus Homer, *Od.* 4,400 (kombiniert mit *Od.* 3,1) beginnen lassen: ἦμος δὲ ἥελιος ἀνῶρουσε. Die Verfolgung des Basilakios durch Alexios hatte ihm die Reminiszenz an die Verfolgung Hektors durch Achilleus (*Ilias* 22,158)

Anna schreitet er zu seiner neuen Heldentat, ohne seinen Unwillen darüber erkennen zu lassen, daß er schon wieder einen neuen Feldzug unternehmen muß, statt für den Sieg über Bryennios entsprechend geehrt zu werden (so hingegen bei Bryennios 183,11 sqq. Gautier). Basilakios wird durch all diese Mittel in eine Sphäre hinaufstilisiert, die ihn zum gefährlichsten der drei militärischen Gegenspieler des Alexios macht, die er auf seinem Weg zum Kaiserthron zu besiegen hat.

Fassen wir zusammen: Anna benutzt ihre Quelle Bryennios in sehr selektiver Weise, sie arbeitet den Text durchgehend um, indem sie ihn konzentriert und zusätzlich dramatisiert. Sie läßt gegenüber der eher nüchternen Dokumentation ihres verstorbenen Gatten weitaus höhere stilistische Ansprüche erkennen. Bryennios hat die ὕλη ιστορίας bereitgestellt, wie er selbst in seinem Prooimion bescheiden formuliert hat (73,9–11 Gautier), um andere dazu anzuregen, die Geschichte des Alexios Komnenos zu schreiben. Geschichte zu schreiben aber hieß seit der Antike, ein literarisches Kunstwerk zu schaffen, den "Stoff" nach Leitgedanken zu ordnen, ihn auf Schwerpunkte zu verdichten, zu raffén, auszumalen, durch Vergleiche anschaulich zu machen, Personen in Handlung und Rede für den Leser lebendig werden zu lassen. Der Übergang von der Historiographie zur Schönen Literatur ist fließend, der Historiker je nach Begabung mehr oder weniger auch Dichter, Dramatiker und Romancier. In der völlig singulären Konstellation des Paares Nikephoros Bryennios – Anna Komnene ist der Schritt von einer literarisch eher anspruchslosen Bereitstellung des Materials zum Kunstwerk dank der Leistung Annas geglückt.

eingetragen: πρόσθε μὲν ἐσθλὸς ἔφευγε, δῶκε δὲ μιν μέγ' ἀμείνων. Die gesamte militärische Erfolgsserie des Alexios hatte er am Ende der Basilakios-Episode unter eine von Euripides formulierte Gnome gestellt (frg. 200,3–4 Nauck): ἐν σοφὸν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας νικᾷ. Anna übernimmt diese Lumina nicht, sondern fügt an anderen Stellen eigene hinzu. Sie vergleicht den das Zelt des Alexios durchstöbernden Basilakios mit den Sokrates-Schülern, die in Aristophanes' *Wolken* (V. 192) in lächerlicher Weise den Erebos noch unter den Tiefen des Tartaros erforschen. Gules zerspringt nach dem Schlag auf den Helm des Basilakios das Schwert in der Hand wie weiland dem Menelaos im Kampf mit Paris (I 33,13–15 Leib ≈ *Ilias* 3,361–363).

WHY IS THE ALEXIAD A MASTERPIECE OF BYZANTINE LITERATURE?

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Not all the readers of modern times did and do like the *Alexiad*. Just on the contrary. Friedrich Schiller, the great German poet and one of the first translators of the *Alexiad*, pointed out the "bad style and false taste" of its author.¹ Not only the romantic poet but also some learned scholars have refused to see in Anna's work an original and valuable piece of literature.²

But despite these authoritative judgments, Anna is now usually considered not only as an outstanding historian, but also as one of the best prose-writers of Byzantine literature. To cite only one of such evaluations, "Anna is capable to recapture situation and recreate characters, she gives new life to the bloodless shadows of the past".³ Be the evaluation of the *Alexiad* indifferently positive or passionately negative, in the approaches of critics subjective standpoints prevail, as a rule, over critical analysis and, though personal tastes should necessarily be taken into consideration, it is hardly reasonable to discuss further the problem on the ground of the principle "I do or do not like the *Alexiad*". Much more important would be to try to put Anna's work, as a literary phenome-

¹ See D. Reinsch, "Edition und Rezeption byzantinischer Historiker durch deutsche Humanisten", *Graeca recentiora in Germania. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen* 59 (1994), 61-62.

² S. Antoniadou, "Η περιγραφή στην 'Αλεξιάδα'. Πώς ή 'Αννα Κομνηνή βλέπει και ζωγραφίζει πρόσωπα και χαρακτήρες", *Ελληνικά* 5 (1932), 255-256.

³ See J. Chrysostomides, "A Byzantine Historian: Anna Comnena", in D. D. Morgan (ed.), *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds* (London, 1982). Cf. O. Jurewicz, "Anna Komnene - Kronprinzessin und Schriftstellerin", in J. Hermann, H. Köpstein, R. Müller (eds.), *Griechenland Byzanz Europa. ein Studienband* (Berlin, 1985), 50 ff.

non,⁴ in the context of the history of Byzantine literature or at least of its historiographic genre. This is the goal of my article.

The first thing that seemingly distinguishes the *Alexiad* from many other pieces of Byzantine literature is its uniformity, contrasting with the usual diversity and lack of unity of many other Byzantine literary works. Strange as it may seem to modern critics, Byzantine writers, though openly adhering to the classical ideals of measure and proportionality and regarding them as the main virtues of the human body, of art and architecture, rarely paid attention to their own literary products and used to create works lacking any measure or concordance between their members and any proportionality. It can easily be shown in rhetoric, because a great part of Byzantine speeches used to be like a human being with a huge head, a tiny body and very long arms. I mean disproportionality and diversity of their parts, to say nothing of the length of the speeches, some of them boundless and hardly apt to be perceived by the listeners or readers.⁵

The same seems to be true of historiography. It is well known that Byzantine chronicles were mostly composed of originally independent works varying in their language, style, ideas, and composition. But this variability by no means prevented medieval editors either from uniting them in one and the same work under the same cover or from creating long compositions consisting of different and even contrasting parts. The examples are too numerous to be cited here. Suffice it to mention John Malalas or *Theophanes Continuatus*. But even in the so-called *histories*,

* Strangely, the problem of the *Alexiad* as a literary phenomenon has recently been discussed by a scholar whose interests seem to be far from the field of literary criticism. I mean R.-J. Lilie who has tried to verify Anna's evidence about the first Crusade. According to the German scholar, some episodes in the *Alexiad* were replaced, distorted or simply invented by Anna, with the aim of making her narrative more dramatic and impressive; R.-J. Lilie, *Der erste Kreuzzug in der Darstellung Anna Komnenas*, *ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑ 6* [= *Varia*, II] (Bonn, 1987), 49-198. Some of the assertions of Lilie may not be correct, but most of his observations ought to be seriously discussed; Anna's trend to dramatize the narrative cannot be doubted. Some objections to R.-J. Lilie have been expressed by D. Reinsch, "De minimis non curat Anna? Bemerkungen zu Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Der erste Kreuzzug in der Darstellung Anna Komnenas*", *JÖB* 39 (1989).

⁵ See Ja. Ljubarskij, *Michail Psell. Ličnost i tvorčestvo* (Moscow, 1978), 141-142. I would like to apologize for rather frequent references to my own works, but they seem to be necessary because the present article is closely connected with some other of my works devoted to the history of Byzantine historiography viewed as a genre of fiction.

based, unlike *chronicles*, on classical patterns, one can see a mixture of different styles and a combination of parts essentially belonging to different literary genres.

As has recently been pointed out, already the first real "Byzantine" half-history – half-pamphlet, the *Historia arcana* by Prokopios, consisted of three parts of different origin (satirical novel, actiology on a Thucydidean model and "finance pamphlet").⁶ True or not in respect to the *Secret History*, the idea of variability of genres within one and the same historical work can be justified and demonstrated by the works of two immediate predecessors of Anna: the chief historians of the 11th century, Michael Attaleiates and Michael Psellos. Their two histories consist of two different parts contrasting in style (in a broad sense of the word), composition, and to some extent even in ideas. While the first parts in both works can, in some respects, be likened to classical histories, the second parts are none other than typical *encomia*.⁷ Generally medieval authors easily changed the genre of their works in accordance with an alteration of their topic!⁸

Unlike these and some other works, the *Alexiad* is notable for its remarkable uniformity, which manifests itself on different levels. First of all, there is the level of language. Throughout her work Anna used a "high-style Greek" that was proper to the learned atticistic or rather antiquarian literature of the period.⁹

Secondly, there is the uniformity of the author's image. From the first pages of the *Alexiad* Anna put on the mask of "a lady of sad countenance", which she did not take off up to the end of her work. Removed from the court, living in a monastery and having lost her most dear parents and her husband, she constantly stressed grief and sorrow accompanying her in her old age.

⁶ K. Adshead, "The Secret History of Procopius and its Genesis", *Byzantion* 63 (1993), 5–28.

⁷ Ja. Ljubarskij, "Miguel Atalies y Miguel Pselos (Ensayo de una breve comparación)", *Erytheia* 16 (1995), 88–89.

⁸ D. S. Lichačev, *Poetika drevnerusskoi literatury* (Leningrad, 1967), 40 ff.

⁹ I. Ševčenko, "Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose," *JÖB* 31/1 (1981); W. J. Aerts, "Anna's Mirror, Attic(istic) or Antiquarian? A Philological Commentary on the First Chapters of Anna Comnena's Introduction to the *Alexiad*", *XV^e Congrès international d'études byzantines, Rapports et co-rapports*, II. *Langue, littérature, philologie* (Athens, 1976), 3 ff. Of great interest are the observations of S. Antoniadou: in some cases traces of Anna's native Middle Greek vernacular appear under the surface of her exquisite Atticistic language. S. Antoniadou, "Νεοελληνικά στοιχεία από την πρώτη περίοδο της *Ἀλεξιάδος*", *Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου* (Athens, 1935).

"Having written so far, dizziness overwhelms my soul, and tears blind my eyes" (*Alexiad*, I, p. 6 ff.).¹⁰

"And when I call to mind this boy [Anna's former fiancé Constantine - Ja.L.] after so many years I am filled with sorrow; yet I restrain my tears, and husband them for 'more fitting places', for I do not wish to confuse this history by mingling monodies with historical narration" (*Alexiad*, I, p. 43.9 ff.).

"I had got as far as this and was toiling with my pen about the time of lamp-lighting, when I noticed that I was dozing a bit over my writing, as this subject was losing its interest" (*Alexiad*, III, p. 109.6 ff.).

Thirdly and fourthly, there is the unity of the main character and hence the uniformity of the composition of the work. The two last assertions are worth being discussed in more detail.

The title of Anna's work is obviously an allusion to Homer's *Iliad*. Anna's *mimesis* of the great classical epic has been pointed out more than once. But for the most part, scholars used to enumerate the verbal borrowings, mainly from the *Iliad*, which are impressively numerous.¹¹ As a matter of fact, this is not surprising at all. Homer's epics were studied in Byzantium from childhood and Homeric verses were "on the lips" of every educated person.¹² I would like to call the attention to the fact that, for example, in the *History* of Niketas Choniates living a few decades later there are 191 Homeric citations, among them 135 from the *Iliad* and 56 from the *Odyssey*.¹³

Some scholars have gone even farther and noticed the *Homeric air* of the *Alexiad*. G. Buckler, for instance, referred to Miss A. Gardner who

¹⁰ The *Alexiad* is quoted from *Anne Comnène, Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib, I-IV (Paris, 1937-1976). English translation is quoted from *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena*, translated by E. A. S. Dawes (London, 1928), unless indicated otherwise.

¹¹ See G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena, a Study* (London, 1929), 197 ff.; R. Katičić, "Ἀννα Κομνηνὴ καὶ ὁ Ὅμηρος", *EEBS* 27 (1957); A. R. Dyck, "Iliad and Alexiad: Anna Comnena's Homeric Reminiscences", *GRBS* 27,1 (1986). In the *Index fontium* to the as yet unpublished edition of the *Alexiad* that is being prepared by D. Reinsch and A. Kambylis there have been noted 58 references to the *Iliad* and 9 to the *Odyssey*. I thank both editors for the opportunity to use the manuscript of their edition.

¹² It is enough to cite Dion Chrysostom: "Homer is the first poet every child meets, the growing-up man meets him in the middle of his life and the old man as the last one, and from his wealth he gives to each of them as much as he can possibly hold" (Dion Chrys., *Or.* 18.8). Cf. R. Browning, "Homer in Byzantium", *Viator* 6 (1975), 15 ff.

¹³ According to the *Index locorum* in *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, rec. I. van Diefen, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1975).

had suggested that Anna's descriptions of real battles were coloured by deep-seated memories of the Siege of Troy;¹⁴ according to A. Dyck "the world of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* has become a standard against which the present is to be measured".¹⁵ The last assertion is quite true: I even believe that the role of the Homeric flavour in the *Alexiad* can be specified and analyzed rationally.

The imitation of an ancient poet has a specific literary function and belongs, to my mind, to the very essence of Anna's literary method. And the first "Homeric" trait of the *Alexiad* is the unity of the main hero. The role Achilles plays in the *Iliad* is played in the *Alexiad* by Alexios I Komnenos. The resemblance between Achilles and Alexios is not to be taken literally. On the contrary, Anna has attributed some traits of the hero of the *Iliad* to other characters of her history. For instance, the famous cry of Achilles is uttered in the *Alexiad* not by Alexios but by his enemy Robert (*Alexiad*, I, p. 38.11 ff.); it is not Anna's father who is directly compared to Achilles but her husband Nikephoros Bryennios (*Alexiad*, II, p. 91.16), while Alexios is sometimes likened to Hercules and other mythological heroes. The main point of contact of the two characters is not their likeness but their role in the composition of the works. Like Achilles, Alexios is not only the main character but the figure uniting all the episodes of the history of his daughter; it is of no importance how far they can deviate from the principal plot.

One can come across an assertion that the *Alexiad* belongs to the genre of secular biography, but this is true only to some extent, provided we use the term "genre" very loosely, not as a *terminus technicus* of the theory of literature. As a matter of fact, under "biographies" in Byzantine literature one can understand the rhetoric subgenres of *encomion* or *epitaphios logos* and some specimens of *vitae* in hagiography, while secular biographies proper, although they seem to have existed, have not come down to us.¹⁶ All these pieces of literature had a more or less strict scheme outlined already by classical theorists. A work was to begin with a description of the origin of the hero, his ancestors, parents and the like, to be continued by an enumeration of his deeds, and to be concluded by a sort of eulogy.

¹⁴ Buckler, *Anna Comnena*, 198-199.

¹⁵ Dyck, "Iliad and Alexiad", 113.

¹⁶ See P. Alexander, "Secular Biography in Byzantium", *Speculum* 15,2 (1940); cf. Ja. Ljubarskij, "Nikephoros Phokas in Byzantine Historical Writings. Trace of the Secular Biography in Byzantium", *ByzSlav* 54 (1993), 245.

Nothing of the kind takes place in the *Alexiad*. Already in the *prooimion* Anna declares that she came to an idea to write "a history of the deeds [italicized by me – Ja.L.] of her father" (τὴν ἱστορίαν ... τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς πράξεων; *Alexiad*, I, p. 5.6 ff.); and really so, immediately after the preface she begins with the description of Alexios' heroic deeds while still a general; these are the struggle with Roussel, the war against Nikephoros Bryennios and the campaign against Basilakes. And finishing the story of the last deed of Alexios in this section of her work, Anna concludes: "Such, then, were the successes (πλεονεκτήματα) and achievements (κατορθώματα) of Alexios before he ascended the throne" (*Alexiad*, I, p. 36.16 f.). Thus, Anna's task was to tell not Alexios' biography but his achievements and heroic deeds. It is also remarkable that the historian, as a rule, retelling the text of Nikephoros Bryennios' history in detail, restricted herself to a mere reference to her husband's composition when mentioning the origin of Alexios (*Alexiad*, I, p. 62.1 ff.). The story of Alexios' origin does not belong to the genre chosen by Anna.

All the rest of the *Alexiad* appears to be nothing else than a story and a description of the achievements and heroic deeds of the father of the historian, his struggle against numerous foes and disasters that fell upon his lot. Though the action constantly deviates from the main figure, Alexios invariably remains in the compositional centre of the narrative, while his enemies — external and internal — are constantly varying. They are Robert Guiscard, his son Bohemond, the "Scythians", the Turkish Emir Tzachas, the ruler of Dalmatia Bolkanos, the heretic Neilos, the conspirator Diogenes, the Crusaders, the Bogomils and many others. To be sure, Anna's narratives often begin from afar (for instance, such episodes as the story of John Italos or the Bogomils), but as a rule they seem to be a sort of digressions or necessary "prehistories" of Alexios' opponents, which precede the episodes of his heroic deeds, achievements and victories over his enemies. It is not a coincidence either that, concluding her work, and just before the final story of her father's death Anna writes: "This [the execution of the Bogomil Basil – Ja.L.] was the last and crowning act of the Emperor's long labours and successes (ὑστάτον ἔργον καὶ ἄθλον τῶν μακρῶν ἐκείνων πόνων καὶ κατορθωμάτων)" (*Alexiad*, III, p. 228.29 ff.). Anna stresses once more: her *Alexiad* is a list of the heroic deeds and achievements (πράξεις, ἔργα, ἄθλα, πόνοι, κατορθώματα, πλεονεκτήματα) of Alexios.

One can even assert that the role of Alexios in the *Alexiad* is in some respects passive, despite all his outstanding activity, often stressed by his

daughter. Being invariably placed in the centre of the narrative, Alexios constantly turned out to be in a situation of defence, i.e. of the Emperor repelling endless enemies and troubles which, like huge billows, rolled on the empire from outside or inside. Phrases like "And now a fresh portion of ills had been mixed again for the Emperor" (*Alexiad*, III, p. 67.13-14), or "... one thing ever followed close upon another, or, in other words, see upon see and river upon river of troubles, that scarcely allowed the Emperor to breathe or even close his eyes ..." (*Alexiad*, III, p. 183.29 ff.), often serve as a beginning of a new historical episode and can be found everywhere in the *Alexiad*.

Even visually Anna seems for the most part to recollect her father in sculpture-like scenes where he rests immovably in a central, inflexible and solemn position, amid offending and bustling opponents or adversaries.

One of the best examples is the impressive episode in Book 14 where "shameless" Frankish counts for days and nights annoyed the Emperor with their long-winded speeches, talks and questions, alternating in an endless line. "... And really — Anna continues —, it was a most wonderful sight. For like a hammer-wrought statue, made perhaps of bronze or cold iron, he would sit the whole night through, from the evening until midnight perhaps, and often even till the third cock-crow ... All his attendants were dead tired and would retire and rest and then come back again grumbling ... The Emperor alone presented unyielding front to all this labour ... And what words would properly describe his patience? ... then he would stand aside for another and give him the opportunity of speaking, and he passed it on to another and so on from one to the other. And they only stood at intervals, but he had to retain his position unceasingly up to the first cock-crow ..." (*Alexiad*, III, p. 162.21 ff.).

This scene like some other similar ones reflects Anna's perception of Alexios as a monumental figure amid foes, opponents and troubles surrounding him. Is it by accident that Anna concluding the *Alexiad* mentions "a double duty, she had imposed upon herself", viz. to narrate and to lament the events that befell the Emperor (τὰ ξυμπέσόντα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι) (*Alexiad*, III, p. 229.28 ff.)?

This kind of composition seems to be influenced by epic and is in a sense a new phenomenon in Byzantine historiography. The problem of linking up historical episodes to one another, i.e. the problem of forming the historiographical text, is of great interest and importance. The Byzantine historical writers before Anna employed different methods of creating their texts. The chroniclers for the most part simply used to juxtapose

pose the entries in chronological sequence, some used to form the narration with the help of the idea of sin and retribution popular in the Christian world, and only the most skilled of them in the 10th–11th centuries came to a much more sophisticated idea and concentrated the whole narrative around the main characters, using different and various methods of composition.¹⁷ Anna also, and even more than her predecessors, placed her hero in the centre of her work, but her technique of composition appears totally different and epic devices seem to have been very helpful to her.

The epic air of the *Alexiad* is supported by some other peculiarities of Anna's work. One cannot say that the battle-scenes in the *Alexiad* are a series of single combats, as they are in the *Iliad*, but the descriptions of them are the favourite topic of the writer.

At first sight it seems strange that, in contrast to the case in many other Byzantine historical works, Alexios' foes are as a rule depicted as mighty, invincible and generous heroes, not yielding to Alexios himself,¹⁸ but it is easy to suggest that this style had also been influenced by the *Iliad* where all the warriors, whether Achaeans or Trojans, seem to be equally brave, strong and courageous.

Much has been contributed to the epic flavour of the *Alexiad* by the formulaic character of Anna's style: the constant repetition of formulas like *βουλήν βουλεύεται*, *λύσας τὰ πρυμνήσια* and many others¹⁹ in combination with other devices seem to be the result of Anna's desire to equate her work with real epic.

Moreover, the elevated and to an ordinary person hardly comprehensible style of the *Alexiad*, with its Homeric air and unrealistic descriptions moved, as it were, the reader, even of Anna's time, into a special and conventional world separated from everyday life, a world populated almost exclusively by heroes of enormous strength and pictures of beauty rather than simply by men and women. It should be noted that the eleva-

¹⁷ For a general outline of the development of the technique of composition in Byzantine historical writings up to the 10th century, see Ja. Ljubarskij, *Prodolžitel' Feofana. Žizneopisanije vizantijskich carej* (Moscow, 1992), 201 ff.

¹⁸ See for instance the comparison of Alexios with his deadly enemy Robert Guiscard: "Both these men were clever at foreseeing everything and in grasping the essentials, and there were no strategic trick unknown to them; they were conversant with every kind of siege, ambush and regular battles in the open field, swift and brave in actual fighting, and of all the leaders in the world they were the adversaries most alike in intellect and courage ..." (*Alexiad*, II, p. 8.17 ff.).

¹⁹ Buckler, *Anna Comnena*, 497.

ted world of epic characters must have seemed rather conventional even to the first ancient readers of the *Iliad*, who could find "realistic" descriptions and some traits of real life only in the numerous digressions and extended comparisons of the epic.

Had Anna's readers tried to accept the numerous "elevated" descriptions of characters and situations in the *Alexiad* literally, many of these would have seemed really funny: the historian herself for instance had to play, as a child, with a real "picture of Eros" (her fiancé Constantine; *Alexiad*, I, p. 104.28), to have meals in the palace with "Athena in mortal guise" (her mother Irene; *Alexiad*, I, p. 112.7) and to share the bed with "a man most eminent in all ways, and just such a man as Homer depicted Achilles" (her husband Nikephoros Bryennios; *Alexiad*, II, p. 91.14 ff.). Not to mention that her father Alexios, undersized, hurrying and, according to Anna herself, rather unscrupulous in his actions, in the *Alexiad* constantly appears as a generous and mighty hero.

But I am sure there was no place for laughter while reading the *Alexiad*. Firstly, Byzantine readers had been accustomed to exaggerations of any sort; secondly and mainly, they must have felt being "transplanted" into the poetic or rather epic world created by the author: so the dimensions and standards of this world must have been quite different from what the readers were accustomed to.

We can probably assert that in the *Alexiad* we come across a conscious imitation, a sort of *mimesis*, well-known in classical and Byzantine literature. It is clear, however, that Anna's *mimesis* was not a crude copying of the classical pattern, but an artistic device purposely used by the writer. It is this device that helped Anna to create the composition and the characters of her work. Is Anna to be blamed for it? We are to put Alexios' daughter in a long line of artists and writers, to whom the imitation of classical patterns became the main device of depicting reality. H. Hunger was absolutely right asserting that the *Alexiad* was "das grosse byzantinische Prosa-Epos über Kaiser Alexios I."²⁰

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to see in the composition and the descriptions of the *Alexiad* a mere result of *mimesis* of the *Iliad*. Anna's work remains history rather than epic; it is linked closely to the historio-

²⁰ H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I (Munich, 1978), 404.

graphic and literary tradition, not only of classical antiquity,²¹ but of Anna's own time as well. What particularly is this tradition? It seems strange and puzzling that the author Anna refers to even more frequently than Homer appears to be not a Church Father or a famous classical writer but Michael Psellos, who had lived only some decades before her and whom she, as a girl, could have met at the court (if we, with some other scholars, reject 1078 as the date of Psellos' death). It is really a very rare if not a unique case when a writer prefers to see his or her authority not in a classical or ecclesiastical author but in a secular contemporary. Anna may or may not have been aware of Psellos' *Funeral Oration on His Mother*,²² but she certainly knew his *Chronography* very well: numerous quotations from it have been detected by some scholars and especially in a recent article by St. Linnér.²³ The *Chronography*, though preserved only in one manuscript and evidently having been known to a limited number of readers, had to be "on Anna's lips" no less than the *Iliad* and was seemingly her favourite book not only because of its skilled literary style.²⁴ What was the reason of this phenomenon? But first of all, is there any resemblance between the *Alexiad* and the *Chronography* of Psellos, besides the numerous similarities in wording? The answer to the second question must be absolutely positive; moreover it is hardly possible to imagine the appearance of Anna's work without a long tradition which reached its climax in the composition of Psellos.²⁵ First of all, it is the high level of the author's intrusion in the text of the *Alexiad*. Unlike the *Chronography* Anna's

²¹ The problem of the classical tradition has been thoroughly studied in the dissertation of the young Spanish scholar E. D. Rolando (*Las fuentes clásicas de la Alexiada de Ana Comnena*) defended in Sevilla in 1994. Cf. also E. D. Rolando, "Ana Comnena y la historiografía del período clásico: aproximación a un debate", *Erytheia* 13 (1992), 29-44; F. Conca recently paid attention to the usage of the devices of classical historians in the composition of the *Alexiad*, especially the so-called *Ringkomposition* (F. Conca, "Aspetti tradizionali nella tecnica di Anna Comnena", *Atti dell'Università degli Studi di Milano*, vol. 23, fasc. 1-II (1980).

²² Buckler, *Anna Comnena*, 231, n. 7.

²³ St. Linnér, "Psellus' *Chronographia* and the *Alexias*. Some Textual Parallels", *BZ* 76.1 (1983), 1 ff. According to the *Index fontium* mentioned above (see note 11) Anna cited the *Chronography* eighty-one times! It is notable that Anna often applies the extracts from the *Chronography* to a completely different context.

²⁴ Psellos is mentioned in the *Alexiad* as a teacher of John Italos (*Alexiad*, II, p. 34.5 ff.).

²⁵ Yet K. Krumbacher wrote: "In formaler Hinsicht ist die *Alexias* das erste grössere Denkmal der litterarischen Renaissance, welche, durch Männer wie Psellos wirksam

composition is normally not called *memoirs*, but Anna, like Psellos, was writing her history, for the most part, from memory; she herself plays an important role in the action, not to mention the subjectivity of her narrative. "Anna Komnena's personality dominates the *Alexiad* as does the personality of Psellos in his *Chronography*."²⁶ Byzantine historiography was gradually moving from unpersonal fixation of the historical events to the subjective and personal narration, which was especially proper to the historians of the 11th century; besides Psellos I would mention Michael Attaleiates. To a great extent Anna joined this tradition as well.²⁷

The second notable trend of Byzantine historiography was the increasing role of historical personalities in the works. Being at first faceless shadows of history, they had gradually turned into figures of flesh and blood, as a rule placed in the centre of the narration. The champion writer in this respect was Psellos. In a sense Anna went even farther than the 11th-century writer. The latter described more than ten imperial persons, each standing in the middle of a separate story, while Anna's whole work has one single hero in its centre. At the same time Anna's literary technique was quite different from that of her predecessors. Psellos, developing the tradition that relied on the first four books of *Theophanes Continuatus*,²⁸ used rather sophisticated methods of composition centered round the historical personality. First of all, it consisted in building the narrative in accordance with the periods of the life of the main personage or, more precisely, with the changes of his character. Secondly, it used

vorbereitet, im Zeitalter der Komnenen ihre schönsten Früchte zeitigte ..." (K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Munich, 1897; repr. 1970), 276. About Psellos as a climax in the development of Byzantine historiography see Ja. Ljubarskij, "Man in Byzantine Historiography from John Malalas to Michael Psellos", *DOP* 46 (1992), 177 ff.

²⁶ L. M. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine State (867-1185)* (London, 1937), 109.

²⁷ According to R. Scott it is the intrusion of the author into a narrative that distinguishes Byzantine historical writings from those of Classical Antiquity (R. Scott, "The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Historiography", *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition. University of Birmingham. Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Literature*, 1979 (1981), 62. Cf. Ja. Ljubarskij, "'Writers' Intrusion' in Early Byzantine Literature", *XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Major Papers* (Moscow, 1991), 433 ff.

²⁸ The importance of *Theophanes Continuatus* in the development of Byzantine literature was firstly stressed by R. Jenkins, "The Classical Background of the *Scriptores post Theophanem*", *DOP* 9 (1954); cf. Ja. Ljubarskij, in *Problemy Evropejskoj Istorii*, 265.

verbal associations and superficial connections of facts, which frequently imitated — rather skillfully — the chronological movement, thus giving the narrative a biographical flavour and turning it into a sort of literary essay with a free flow of thoughts, psychological observations and facts.²⁹

Some traces of this technique can be revealed in the *Alexiad* as well.³⁰ Having told, for instance, the story about the conspiracy of Michael Anemas, who had been condemned and confined to prison, Anna wants to transfer her narrative to another episode: the revolt of Gregorios Taronites. She makes it as follows. Anna writes: "Michael had not yet been liberated from prison before the prison received Gregory" (*Alexiad*, III, p. 75.8-9). This phrase gives her the pretext to begin narrating the story of Gregory Taronites. The mention of the prison (the so-called Anemas-prison) becomes the link connecting two different stories. But principally Anna used her own method to place her father in the centre of the narrative; in order to achieve this she imitated, as it were, the method of composition of epic, building her work as a series of heroic deeds of the main character.

Likewise Anna's method of depicting the *dramatis personae* differs from that of Psellos. The latter's characters are changeable, movable and principally not equal to themselves. None of their traits can be considered absolute; on the contrary they are, as a rule, conventional and seem to be relevant only at a certain time and in a definite situation. Some traces of this dialectic approach to characters can be found in the *Alexiad* as well. Describing, for instance, the (in her opinion) rude and illiterate John Italos, who in discussions with his opponents used both words and fists, Anna quite unexpectedly concludes the episode by saying: "The only unphilosophic he had was that after the blow his anger left him, tears and evident remorse followed" (*Alexiad*, II, p. 36.22 ff.). On the contrary, after the description of Robert Guiscard as a "most exceptional leader, quick-witted, good-looking, courteous in conversation etc.", Anna adds: "On the other hand he was very thrifty and fond of money, very business-ambitious ..." (*Alexiad*, II, p. 59.26 ff.). The examples can be continued.

In this respect Anna was also influenced by Psellos. But principally the elevated, conventional, "epic" world created by her could hardly be

²⁹ Ljubarskij, *Michail Psell*, 204 ff.

³⁰ Cf. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 394 ff.; A. Kazhdan and A. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley - Los Angeles - London, 1985), 214 ff.

populated by characters similar to those of Psellos'. As mentioned above, the main character of the *Alexiad*, Alexios, though very active, remains for the most part immovable and unchangeable throughout the years of his reign in the *Alexiad*, and when he appears for the first time in Anna's work he is already possessing all the virtues ascribed to him in the composition. His role as a literary personage consists mainly in revealing again and again his incomparable qualities. This does not mean that all the virtues of Alexios are enumerated at the very beginning, but the reader is immediately prepared by the author to see the future emperor as a combination of all conceivable excellences. His only "deficiency" — the short stature — has been especially mentioned as not contradicting the standards of a statesman and warrior, i.e., traditionally, being mighty and tall: "Alexios indeed was not especially tall but rather broad ... When standing he did not strike the onlookers with such admiration, but if when sitting on the imperial throne, he shot forth the fierce splendour of his eyes ..." (*Alexiad*, I, p. 110.24 ff.). This seems to be very indicative; seeing the discrepancy between ideal and reality. (Alexios unhappily turned out to be too short and the problem could not be passed over!) Anna feels it necessary to smooth over or at least to explain the deviation. Anna's intention to depict the character in constant relation to the standards is quite evident.

This style, popular in medieval literature, defined by D. Lichačev as a monumental historical style,³¹ seems to be closely connected with a certain technique of writing. First of all, it was the representation of characters as a certain sum of traits not necessarily connected with each other.³² Secondly, it was the so-called sculptural style, whose adherents tended to depict their characters as a sort of sculpture in a fixed solemn and frontal position, facing, as it were, the spectators.³³ There are a lot of "sculptural scenes" in the *Alexiad*, but the most demonstrative is Anna's tendency to compare her characters with statues (*ἀγάλματα*). Anna was not the first Byzantine writer to do so (the fact is notable by itself: classical writers used to compare statues with human beings, the Byzantines did the opposite), but the *Alexiad* is really full of such comparisons.

³¹ D. Lichačev, *Razvitije russkoj literatury X-XVII vekov* (Leningrad, 1973), 64 ff.

³² Ljubarskij, "Man in Byzantine Historiography", 179 ff.

³³ Cf. S. Antoniadēs, "Ἡ περιγραφικὴ", 269: Anna had a talent for observing people as sculptures (*ἀπὸ γλυπτικῆς ἀπόψεως*).

The shortest way to demonstrate these peculiarities of Anna's style is to refer briefly to her way of depicting the appearance of her characters. All the portraits outlined in the *Alexiad* can easily be dismantled to details. These "details" are as follows: stature, face, eyebrows, eyes, pupils, cheeks, nose, shoulders, breast, arms. Their presence as a whole is not obligatory, some of them might be missing; they can change slightly from portrait to portrait, but in principle the general stock remains almost the same with a certain differentiation for male or female characters or children. The order of traits (from top to bottom) is relatively fixed, and the first four places are occupied by the obligatory details, mentioned in our list. The number of the qualities ascribed to and of the epithets applied to the characters is also rather limited, and they can easily be catalogued. It is even possible to outline a sort of combined portrait of a female or male character in the *Alexiad*. Here is, for instance, the ideal female portrait outlined by L. Garland on the basis of the *Alexiad*: "... the shape of the face should, for preference, be oval; the eyes should be impressive, and indicative of majesty and dignity, light blue being the most suitable colour, and set well apart; eyebrows should be arched and a marked feature of the expression; the nose, if mentioned, should be close to aquiline; the skin should be white and unflawed, with the cheeks a rosy-red; and the most popular colour of hair was blond or red-gold. Symmetry of limbs and body, and a figure proportionately balanced, was essential for a Byzantine beauty, and she should be of medium height or taller with an upright stance ...".¹⁴

Strange as it may seem, Anna's style of portraying does not differ much from that of Michael Psellos, and what is more, from traditional rhetorical *eikonismos* of other Byzantine writers. As has already been stated, the greatest master of Byzantine literature in characterizing personages used to be rather ordinary and in any case traditional in his methods of describing their appearance. In Psellos' *Chronography* the external portraits of personages, which tend to be conventional and stereotyped rather than specific, to conform to an ideal, seem to be in opposition to the representation of individuals, their moral qualities and psychology. In the *Alexiad* they often seem to be in accordance.

Trying to fix Anna's place in the long chain of development of Byzantine

¹⁴ L. Garland, "'The Eye of the Beholder': Byzantine Imperial Women and their Public Image from Zoe Porphyrogenita to Euphrosyne Kamaterissa Doukaina (1028-1203)". *Byzantion* 64,2 (1994), 297.

historiography I have stressed her adherence to two great pieces of world literature separated from each other by about two thousand years: the *Iliad* by Homer and the *Chronography* by Psellus. Neither served as a model for the 12th-century historian merely by accident. The position of Psellus' *Chronography* in the history of Byzantine secular literature is twofold. Being a sort of coronation of its main trends in the 11th-12th centuries, it appears to be at the same time a kind of extraordinary phenomenon, born prematurely and anticipating some traits of the mentality and the literature of modern times.¹⁵ Its birth was surely stipulated by a voracious reader of secular literature¹⁶ and great admirer of Psellus, could not escape the mighty influence of his genius. Like him she really "recaptured" sometimes "to recapture situation and give new life to the bloodless shadows of the past".

At the same time Anna, the daughter of the following 12th century, the century not only of enlightenment but of repression as well (I am referring to the title of the article by R. Browning).¹⁷ could not simply continue the "liberal trends" of the previous age. The intellectual atmosphere of her period was quite different and the *Alexiad* seems to have been not only a continuation of "Psellus' line" but simultaneously its negation as well. I would say a sort of "classicistic" reaction to it.

And in this point I am inclined to see one of the main reasons for Anna's special interest in Homer and her use of the *Iliad*. The epic provided her with a technique of composition, in some aspects with methods of describing characters, and served as a kind of measure or standard in the representation of historical reality. Such was her approach as an historian, such was her device as a writer, such was her mentality — much more conservative and "classicistic" than that of her favourite Psellus.

Is the *Alexiad* not a masterpiece of Byzantine literature?

¹⁵ Ljubarskij, *Michail Psell*, 243-244.

¹⁶ See J. Darrouzès (ed.), *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès. Lettres et discours* (Paris, 1970), 245.12-246.3.

¹⁷ R. Browning, "Enlightenment and Repression in Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", *Past and Present* 69 (1975).

A GNOMOLOGICAL COLLECTION RELATED TO THE CORPUS PARISINUM

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In the gnomological tradition a central position between Stobaeus and the late Byzantine collections is taken by the famous and still largely unedited "Universalgnomologium", which is traditionally called *Corpus Parisinum*.¹ It is preserved in two manuscripts which are independent of each other, codex Parisinus graecus 1168² and codex Digby 6³, but it is

¹ For this collection see J. Freudenthal, "Zu Phavorinus und der mittelalterlichen Florilegienliteratur", *Rheinisches Museum*, NF 35 (1880), 408-430 and 639-640; C. Wachsmuth, *Studien zu den griechischen Florilegien* (Berlin, 1882; repr. Osnabrück, 1971), 131-135; H. Schenkl, "Die epiktetischen Fragmente: Eine Untersuchung zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der griechischen Florilegien", *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (zu Wien)* 115 (1888), 460-514; L. Sternbach, "Excerpta Parisina", *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności, Wydział Filologiczny*, Serya II, Tom V (Cracow, 1894), 53-82; A. Elter, *Προπαια συνοπια των Σωκρατικών, Πλουτάρχου, Δεμοφίλου, Δεμοναχίου, Αριστοβίου κ.α.*, 1 (Univ.-Progr. Bonn, 1900), coll. 63-74; D. Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation: A Study of the Graeco-Arabic Gnomologia* [American Oriental Series, 60] (New Haven, Connecticut, 1975), 11-16; P. Odorico, "Il 'Corpus Parisinum' e la fase costitutiva dei florilegi sacro-profani (Prospettive di ricerca sulla letteratura gnomologica bizantina)", in *Studi Bizantini e Neogreci: Atti del IV Congresso nazionale di studi bizantini*, a cura di P. L. Leone (Galatina, 1983), 417-429; P. Odorico, *Il prato e l'ape: Il sapere sen-tenzioso del monaco Giovanni* [Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, 17] (Vienna, 1986), 8-10.

² Cf., besides the literature given in note 1, H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et des autres Bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements*, I (Paris, 1886), 233.

³ Cf. W. D. Macray, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, 9; *Codices a ... Kenelm Digby ... Anno 1634 donatos, complectens* (Oxford, 1883), col. 5. This MS has not been used very often, but cf. F. Halkin, "Miracles des SS. Michel et Gabriel au monastère de Dochiariou sur le Mont Athos", *AnalBoll* 84 (1966), 378; E. Manning, "Bulletin Codicologique", no. 242, *Scriptorium* 21 (1967), 143; J. F. Kindstrand, "Codex Digby 6, Codex Parisinus graecus 1168 and Menandri Sententiae", *Revue d'histoire des textes* 14-15 (1984-1985), 361-366.

generally quoted from the Paris manuscript.⁴ This compilation sets out to combine a number of gnomological collections into one volume and consists of the following main parts, with references to the Paris manuscript: (1) a collection of Christian sayings, arranged by author's name, ff. 39r-80r;⁵ (2) a collection of oracles (ed. H. Erbse [1941]), ff. 80r-83r; (3) a collection of profane sayings, arranged by author's name, ff. 83r-121v; (4) excerpts from Stobaeus' books 3 and 4, ff. 121v-140r; (5) a recension of *Gnomologium Byzantinum* (ed. C. Wachsmuth [1882 = 1971]), ff. 140r-145v; (6) varia, ff. 145v-146r; (7) a collection of profane sayings, arranged by author's name in alphabetical order (cf. *Gnomologium Vaticanum*, ed. L. Sternbach [1887-1889 = 1963]), ff. 146v-162v; (8) Menander's *Sentences* (ed. S. Jäkel [1964]), ff. 162v-170r.

When we consider the great importance of this collection, it is obvious that every textual testimony, however small, which can make a contribution to its tradition, is of interest. It has long been known that a related, but much shorter collection can be found in codex Parisinus suppl. gr. 690, ff. 145r-147v.⁶ This gnomology, which also remains unpublished, consists of 153 sentences.⁷ The material can in most cases be found in the two collections which are at the beginning of the *Corpus Parisinum*, i.e. (1) consisting of Christian and (3) of profane material.⁸ There has been some discussion of the relationship between this collection and the *Corpus Parisinum*. Richard seems to take the view that the

⁴ *Corpus Parisinum* — the title can be used both for the collection as such and for the Paris manuscript — is often quoted with reference to the numbering of A. Elter; however Elter never published his edition. Therefore only parts of *Corpus Parisinum* have been made available so far. See, besides the editions given in the text, the works of Freudenthal, Schenkl and Sternbach (note 1).

⁵ The sentences of St Basil are edited in J. F. Kindstrand, "Florilegium e Basilio Magno ineditum", *Eranos* 83 (1985), 113-124.

⁶ Cf. H. Omont, op. cit. (note 2), 3 (Paris, 1888), 300-302; Elter, op. cit. (note 1), 2 (Univ.-Progr. Bonn, 1901), coll. 98-99. A more detailed description of this MS is given in G. Rochefort, "Une anthologie grecque du XI^e siècle: Le Parisinus Suppl. grec 690", *Scriptorium* 4 (1950), 3-17, esp. 57.

⁷ For a survey of the contents and the relations to *Corpus Parisinum* see Sternbach, op. cit. (note 1), 59-69.

⁸ It should be noted that cod. Par. suppl. gr. 690, ff. 148r-148v, contains a collection of oracles, closely related to the collection, which can be found in *Corpus Parisinum* (2), where it follows immediately after the collection of Christian sayings. Cf. H. Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien* [Hamburger Arbeiten zur Altertumswissenschaft, 4] (Hamburg, 1941), 53-56, which documents that the two collections, although independent of each other, have an ancestor in common.

small gnomology of cod. Par. suppl. gr. 690 forms a more original collection which has been incorporated into the much larger *Corpus Parisinum*.⁹ He does not present any arguments for his opinion and it seems unconvincing to me. On the contrary there are arguments against Richard's view.¹⁰ The small collection contains some additional material which cannot be found in the *Corpus Parisinum*, at least as we have it now. The division into separate sentences is not always the same, a fact that also applies to the internal order of the material. An even more important argument is that the small collection seems to practise what may be described as a method of selective quoting in groups from its source. Such form of quoting appears to be common in this kind of literature,¹¹ and can be clearly illustrated from the profane material. A few examples will suffice. The *Corpus Parisinum* contains 91 sentences belonging to Plutarch, while cod. Par. suppl. gr. 690 presents 49, which can all — with the exception of one — be found in the *Corpus Parisinum*, in the following order with reference to the order of the *Corpus Parisinum*: 1-2, one additional sentence, 3-28, 30-44, 58-59, 89-91. Something similar is valid for the Aristotle material. The *Corpus Parisinum* contains 19 sentences attributed to him; of these cod. Par. suppl. gr. 690 preserves 10, which correspond to the order of the *Corpus Parisinum* in the following way: 1-2, 6-11, 13, 16. Against this background I think we may state with some confidence that the small collection of cod. Par. suppl. gr. 690 constitutes an excerpt from a larger compilation, related to but not identical with the collection which we have today in cod. Par. gr. 1168, and perhaps more complete in form.

Now there exists yet another collection, which is also somehow related to the *Corpus Parisinum*, in codex Vaticanus graecus 1357 (s. XIV), ff. 46^v-51^r,¹² and in codex Vindobonensis philosophicus et philologicus

⁹ Cf. M. Richard, "Florilèges spirituels grecs", *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 5 (1964), col. 489 (= id., *Opera Minora*, 1 [Turnhout-Leuven, 1976], no. 11).

¹⁰ Cf. Kindstrand, op. cit. (note 5), 116.

¹¹ Cf. O. Hense, "Ioannes Stobaios" (no. 18), *RE* 9 (1916), col. 2573. J. F. Kindstrand, "Two Romans in Late Greek Florilegia: Cato Major and Romulus", *Civica et Mediaevalia* 38 (1987), 94.

¹² No catalogue has been published so far, cf. P. de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini: Contributions à l'histoire des collections d'Italie et à l'étude de la renaissance* [Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, Sciences philologiques et historiques, 74] (Paris, 1887; repr. Geneva, 1978), 341, note 64.

graecus 216 (s. XIV ex.), ff. 82^r-90^r.¹³ Both Schenkl¹⁴ and Elter¹⁵ noted its existence and its relation to the *Corpus Parisinum*, but they provided no information about the contents of this small text. Since then it seems to have been generally neglected. As far as the relations between these two manuscripts are concerned it seems obvious that the Vienna manuscript is a copy of the Vatican manuscript.¹⁶ It preserves most of the errors of the original while adding a fair number of new errors, e.g. the omission of one sentence (no. 26). This being the case the Vienna manuscript can be discarded and all references will be to the Vatican manuscript. When I now present the text of this gnomology, I shall start by making some remarks on its characteristics and its relationship to the two which have already been mentioned. This collection consists of 96 sentences and it differs from the other compilations in that in most cases it gives them anonymously. We have only a few cases where lemmata are given, in the text or in the margin: no. 18 (Γρηγόριος in mg.), no. 34 (Βασίλειος in mg.), no. 54 (Βίας in textu), no. 73 (Διογένης (?) in mg.), no. 88 (Ἀλέξανδρος in mg.), no. 90 (Ἀλέξανδρος in textu), no. 95 (Μενάνδρου in mg.), no. 96 (Ἀναχάρσιδος in mg.). It should be noted that in nos. 54 and 90 the names are incorporated in the text of the sentences.

Our collection can be said to consist of two parts, which it would be better to treat separately. The first part (nos. 1-52) contains — with the exception of no. 17 — Christian material, closely related to the collection which introduces both the *Corpus Parisinum* and the collection of cod. Par. suppl. gr. 690. Almost all the sentences of our collection, which is the shortest, can be found in both the *Corpus Parisinum* and the collection of cod. Par. suppl. gr. 690; only nos. 1 and 18 form additions which are not to be found in the two other sources. No. 17 has got a parallel only in the *Corpus Parisinum*, but it deserves to be pointed out that our gnomology presents a longer text, which may indicate that it goes

¹³ Cf. H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 1: *Codices historici. Codices philosophici et philologici* [Museion: Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, NF, 4. Reihe, 1] (Vienna, 1961), 322-324, esp. 322.

¹⁴ Schenkl, *op. cit.* (note 1), 466.

¹⁵ Elter, *op. cit.* (note 1), col. 6.

¹⁶ The same relationship between the two MSS has been established also from the letters of Theophylaktos Simokates; cf. I. Zanetto (ed.), *Theophylacti Simocatae Epistulae* (Leipzig, 1985), xx-xxi.

back to a fuller source. As far as the order of the material is concerned, we may note that the internal order of the characters which provide the anonymous material, i.e. St John Chrysostom, St John Climacus, St Gregory of Nazianzus and St Basil, does not coincide with the order of the *Corpus Parisinum*, which starts with St Basil, St Gregory of Nazianzus, St John Chrysostom, giving St John Climacus at the end of the collection. On the other hand we find almost the same arrangement in the collection of cod. Par. suppl. gr. 690, with the exception that the sentences of St John Climacus are placed at the end. This indicates that there may be a closer relationship between the two small collections, at least as far as their first parts are concerned. This is further indicated by the fact that the sentences, which are attributed to Isaeus in the *Corpus Parisinum* and used to introduce the third collection of profane material, can be found among the material belonging to St John Chrysostom in the two small collections. Also as far as the internal order of the sentences for each name is concerned the two minor collections are closer to each other than to the *Corpus Parisinum*, both exhibiting the same traces of selective quoting.

The latter part of our collection (nos. 53-96) is devoted to profane material, no. 85 being the only exception, and involves more problems concerning contents and internal order. Here we find only limited similarities to the collection of cod. Par. suppl. gr. 690. This concerns the material belonging to the names Isocrates, Aristotle and Plutarch. But the differences are much more impressive. This part of our collection consists of 44 sentences, while the corresponding section of the Paris compilation has 99 sentences. Of these only 15 can be found in both collections. There is also a difference as far as the sources of the material are concerned. The Paris collection is devoted almost exclusively to philosophers, Menander being the only exception. Our text also includes, besides material from philosophers, although the names partly differ, material from the Greek romances and some poetry by Euripides and/or Menander. In this latter part the two collections are so different that it is almost impossible to assume any kind of intermediate source in common. Also as far as the internal order of the material is concerned there are only a few cases of similarities between the two collections.

If we compare the text of this part of our collection with the corresponding part of the *Corpus Parisinum*, i.e. (3), we shall see that most of the 44 items can be found in this collection, the only exceptions being nos. 84, 89, 93-96. These exceptions include one sentence of Plutarch/Alexander the Great, which can however be found in the collection of

cod. Par. suppl. gr. 690, and four quotations from Euripides and/or Menander. These poetic quotations can all be found in Stobaeus, and in two cases they have also been included in the excerpts from Stobaeus, which can be found in *Corpus Parisinum* (4), following immediately after the collection with profane material, which now stands at the centre of interest. This indicates as a possibility that our text as a source may have used a collection similar to the *Corpus Parisinum* and also containing the excerpts from Stobaeus, although in a more complete form than we have them now. The final item of our collection, belonging to Anacharsis, cannot be found in the two other collections, and it seems to have its origin in another gnomological tradition, best represented by the *Gnomologium Vaticanum*. It may be noted that the *Corpus Parisinum* as (7) includes a version of this collection, although this specific item is not included.

The internal order of the names is something of a mystery and rather characterized by its lack of order, as items belonging to the same name can be found at different places. This applies especially to Heliodorus (nos. 17,¹⁷ 82, 91, 92). Such lack of order is naturally easy to explain by the fact that the items in most cases are anonymous. It would perhaps be possible to detect a kind of quotation from groups of names, if we compare our collection with *Corpus Parisinum* (3). The first items (nos. 53–56), belonging to the names Antisthenes, Bias, Diodorus, can be found fairly close to each other, although not in exactly the same order, in *Corpus Parisinum* (3), which presents them in the following order: Bias, Antisthenes, Diodorus. The next group of items (nos. 57–82), belonging to Achilles Tatius, Isocrates, Aristotle, Heliodorus, can perhaps be said to form one group to be found at the beginning of *Corpus Parisinum* (3), which however presents them in the following order and with several other names interposed: Aristotle, Isocrates, Achilles Tatius, Heliodorus. It would seem that our collection presents the items almost in reversed order, as far as the names are concerned. Apollonius and Nilus (nos. 83–85) can in the *Corpus Parisinum* be found after the first group of our compilation, although separated from each other. The items of Plutarch (nos. 86–88, 90), which are placed almost at the end

¹⁷ This item is attributed to Heliodorus in *Corpus Parisinum*. It is therefore plausible that the same attribution could have been found in the source of the Vatican collection, although the sentence in our collection is anonymous. In reality it belongs to Achilles Tatius.

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of our collection, can be found at the beginning of the *Corpus Parisinum*. The final sentences (nos. 89, 93-96) obviously belong to other traditions than the *Corpus Parisinum* (3).

THE EDITION

In the following, the text of the Vatican manuscript will be edited. The variants of the Vienna manuscript will not be noted (cf. above). It has been my intention to keep the *apparatus criticus* to a minimum. Consequently it does not include variants from the other collections or such readings of the original texts which may be regarded as more true. The items are also followed by a second *apparatus*, indicating whether the item in question can be found in the *Corpus Parisinum* (CP) and the collection of cod. Par. suppl. gr. 690 (Par.) as well as giving the original source, if this has been established. Some information concerning parallels in other collections than those two mentioned is only given in some cases, when no source has been found.¹⁸ All further information concerning variants and parallels has better been reserved for a final and long awaited edition of the *Corpus Parisinum*.

(f. 46^v) Γνώμαι διαφόρων ὠφελιμώταται

1. Τὸ βασιλέως μὴ φυλάττειν μυστήριον ἐπισφαλές καὶ ἐπώδυνον· καὶ τὸ σιγᾶν ἔργα θεοῦ παράδοξα ψυχῆς φέρει τὸν κίνδυνον.

deest in CP et Par.; cf. Jo.Georg. § 22 O.

¹⁸ The following gnomological collections are quoted by abbreviated titles: APM = "Ἀριστον καὶ πρῶτον μάθημα, ed. H. Schenkl, *Wiener Studien* 11 (1889), 1-42; DIE = *Gnomologium Byzantinum ἐκ τῶν Δημοκρίτου Ἰσοκράτους Ἐπικτήτου e variis codicum exemplis restitutum*, ed. C. Wachsmuth, in *Studien zu den griechischen Florilegien* (Berlin, 1882; repr. Osnabrück, 1971), 162-216; Flor. duo gr. = *Florilegia duo graeca*, ed. H. Schenkl, *Jahres-Bericht über das K. K. Akademische Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1887-88* (Vienna, 1888), 1-18; Gnom. hom. = *Γνωμικὰ ὁμοιώματα* des Sokrates Plutarch Demophilus Demonax Aristonymus u.a., 5, ed. A. Elter (Univ.-Progr. Bonn, 1904); Pyth. = *Pythagoreersprüche in einer Wiener Handschrift*, ed. H. Schenkl, *Wiener Studien* 8 (1886), 262-281; Wien. Apophth. = *Die Wiener Apophthegmen-Sammlung*, ed. C. Wachsmuth, in *Festschrift zur Begrüssung der ... XXXV. Philologen-Versammlung ...* (Freiburg i.B. - Tübingen, 1882), 1-36. Names of ancient authors and works are abbreviated in accordance with the use in LSJ.

2. Πολιὰ οὐ τρίχες λευκαὶ ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ἀρεταί.

Cf. CP f. 51^r (Jo.Chrys.); Par. f. 145^r (post Jo.Chrys.)
= Ps.-Jo.Chrys. Hom. 1 in Ps. 50.3 (PG, 55 col. 568B) *

3. Ὁ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τοῦ βασιλέως συμφιλιάζων οὐ δύναται φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως εἶναι.

Cf. CP f. 51^r (post Jo.Chrys.); Par. f. 145^r (post Jo.Chrys.)
= Jo.Chrys. Ecl. 1 (PG, 63 col. 574A); Jo.Jej. Pseud. 4 (PG, 59 col. 558A)

4. Εἰ γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπων ὁ παραβαίνων τοὺς νόμους ἀπαραίτητον ἐφίσταται κόλασιν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἀφορήτοις ἐκδοθήσεται βασιλεὺς ὁ τοῦ ἐπουρανίου βασιλέως ἀθετῶν τὰ προστάγματα;

ἐφίσταται] fortasse ἐφίσταται

Cf. CP f. 51^r (post Jo.Chrys.); Par. f. 145^r (post Jo.Chrys.)
= Jo.Chrys. Hom. in Mt. 7.14 (PG, 51 col. 41A)

5. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἡ τῶν πλουσίων ὑδάτων φορὰ δεξαμένη τὸ ἐπιρρέον πομφόλυγας διανίστησι καὶ αἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἅμα (f. 47^r) τῷ γενέσθαι ἐρράγησαν, αἱ δὲ πλεῖον ὀγκωθεῖσαι μετέπειτα καὶ αὗται ἐρράγησαν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἡ θάλασσα τοῦ βίου τούτου τοὺς μὲν <πρὸς> ὀλίγον φανέντας ἐκάλυψε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖω διαρκέσαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς κατεπόντισεν.

πομφόλυγας scripsi πομφόλυγκας cod. | <πρὸς> supplevi

Cf. CP f. 51^r (post Jo.Chrys.); Par. f. 145^r (post Jo.Chrys.)
= Ps.-Jo.Chrys. Publ. 2 (PG, 62 col. 724B)

6. Ὅταν ἐκ καθαρῶν χειλέων ἐξέρχεται δέησις καὶ ἐκ καρδίας ἀνυποκρίτου, οἶδε φθάσαι τὸ ἀκολάκευτον οὗς τοῦ δεσπότου.

ἐξέρχεται et οἶδε scripsi ἐξέρχεται et εἶδε cod.

Cf. CP f. 51^{r-v} (post Jo.Chrys.); Par. f. 145^r (post Jo.Chrys.)
= Ps.-Jo.Chrys. Hom. in Ps. 11 (PG, 64 coll. 1381-1382)

7. Ἀδικεῖ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ὁ φειδόμενος τῶν κακῶν.

Cf. CP f. 83^r (Is.); Par. f. 145^r (Jo.Chrys.)

8. Ὅσοι τοὺς ἀδικούντας καλᾶξουσιν, οὗτοι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικεῖσθαι κωλύουσιν.

Cf. CP f. 83^r (post Is.); Par. f. 145^r (post Jo.Chrys.)
= Is. fr. 31 Th.

9. Συγγενείας νόμους, οὐ τοὺς ἀπὸ φύσεως ἀλλὰ <τοὺς> ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας.

συγγενείας et νόμους et τοὺς scripsi eὐγενείας et νόμος et ταῖς cod. | <ταῖς> supplēvi | οἶδεν ἡ γραφὴ καλεῖν post κακίας hab. Jo.Chrys.

Cf. CP f. 51^v (post Jo.Chrys.); Par. f. 145^r (post Jo.Chrys.)
= Jo.Chrys. Laz. 2.1 (PG, 48 col. 983B)

10. Εἰ οἱ πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως ἀμείβοντες τοῦ χειραγωγούντος ἐπιδόνται, πολλῷ οὖν μᾶλλον ἢ ψυχὴ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπάρατος καὶ πρὸς τὴν μελλούσαν μεθυσταμένη ζωὴν τῶν ὁδηγησόντων αὐτὴν ἐπιδεθῆσεται.

ὁδηγησόντων αὐτὴν scripsi ὁδηγησάντων αὐτὸν cod.

Cf. CP f. 51^v (post Jo.Chrys.); Par. f. 145^{r-v} (post Jo.Chrys.)
= Jo.Chrys. Laz. 2.2 (PG, 48 col. 984B)

11. Ὁ μὴ δεόμενος τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀλλ' ἐν αὐταρκεῖ νομίζων εἶναι πάντων ἐστὶν εὐπορώτερος.

sententiae 11 et 12 in cod. coherent

Cf. CP f. 51^v (post Jo.Chrys.); Par. f. 145^v (post Jo.Chrys.)
= Jo.Chrys. Laz. 2.1 (PG, 48 col. 982A-983B)

12. Ὁ γὰρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μὴ δυνάμενος στήσαι ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὰ πάντα περιβέβληται, πῶς οὗτος ἔσται ἐν εὐπορίᾳ ποτε;

πάντων] fortasse πάντα

Cf. CP f. 51^v (post Jo.Chrys.); Par. f. 145^v (post Jo.Chrys.)
= Jo.Chrys. Laz. 2.1 (PG, 48 col. 982A)

13. Οὐ πλούσιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος ὁ πολλὰ κεκτημένος (f. 47^v) ἀλλ' ὁ μὴ
πολλῶν δεόμενος.

Cf. CP f. 51^v (post Jo.Chrys.); Par. f. 145^v (post Jo.Chrys.)
= Jo.Chrys. Hom. 2.5 in Phil. (PG, 62 col. 196B)

14. Κρεῖσσον ψωμὸς ἐν ἄλατι μεθ' ἡσυχίας καὶ ἐν ἀμεριμνίᾳ ἢ παρά-
θεσις ἐδεσμάτων πολλῶν ἐν πειρασμοῖς καὶ μερίμναις.

Cf. CP ff. 51^v-52^r (post Jo.Chrys.); Par. f. 145^v (post Jo.Chrys.)
= Ps.-Jo.Chrys. Pat. et consumm. (PG, 63 col. 942A)

15. Ὁ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θεραπεύων γαστέρα καὶ πνεῦμα πορνείας νικήσαι
βουλόμενος ὅμοιός ἐστιν τῷ μετὰ ἐλαίου σβεννύοντι ἐμπυρισμόν.

Cf. CP f. 80^r (Jo.Clim.); Par. f. 146^r (Jo.Clim.)
= Jo.Clim. Scal. 14 (PG, 88 col. 868A)

16. Θλιβομένης κοιλίας ταπεινοῦται καρδία, θεραπευομένης δὲ ταύτης
γαυριᾷ λογισμός.

γαυριᾷ scripsi γαβριᾷ cod.

Cf. CP f. 80^r (post Jo.Clim.); Par. f. 146^r (post Jo.Clim.)
= Jo.Clim. Scal. 14 (PG, 88 col. 868A)

17. Ὑπέκκανμα ἐπιθυμίας λόγος ἐρωτικὸς [πολλοῖς ὑπέκκανμ' εἰς
ἔρωτα μουσική]. κἂν εἰς σωφροσύνην τις ἑαυτὸν νοουθετῇ, τῷ παραδείγ-
ματι πρὸς τὴν μίμησιν ἐρεθίζεται, μάλιστα' ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος ἢ τὸ
παραδειγμα' ἢ γὰρ ὧν ἀμαρτάνει τις αἰδῶς τῷ τοῦ βελτίονος ἀξιώμα-
τι παρρησία γίνεται.

Ἰπέκκουμεν α. corr. | Ἰπέκκουμεν ... ἐρωτικὸς et πολλοῖς .. γίνεται in cod. duae
sententiae sunt | [πολλοῖς ... μουσικῇ] secludi | νοῦς ἐτῇ et ἡ σκῆψι νομοθετῇ
et ei cod.

Cf. CP f. 102^r (brevior; post Hld.); deest in Par.
= Ach. Tat. 1.5.6

[πολλοῖς ... μουσικῇ]

deest in CP et Par.; cf. Stob. 4.20a.18
= Men. fr. 200 K.

18. Μὴ τις, ἐνὸν ἀκινδύνως ἔπεσθαι, ἄρχειν ἐπικινδύνως ἐπιθυμεῖτω.

Γρηγόριος in mg. abbrev.

deest in CP et Par.
= Gr.Naz. Or. 19.10 (PG, 35 col. 1053C)

19. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιτιμᾶν οὐ μέγα (ῥᾶστον γὰρ καὶ τοῦ βουλομένου
παντός), τὸ δὲ ἀντεισάγειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβοῦς καὶ
νοῦν ἔχοντος.

-ει- (verbi ἀντεισ-) e corr.

Cf. CP f. 45^v (Gr.Naz.); Par. f. 145^v (Gr.Naz.)
= Gr.Naz. Or. 29.1 (PG, 36 col. 73A)

20. Ὅταν μεγάλα ἐλπίσαντες ἀθρόον τοῖς ἐλπισθεῖσιν ἐντύχωμεν,
ἐλάττω τῆς γνώμης ὁρᾶν τὰ φαινόμενα. (f. 48^r)

Cf. CP 46^r (post Gr.Naz.); Par. f. 145^v (post Gr.Naz.)
= Gr.Naz. Or. 43.18 (PG, 36 col. 520B)

21. Κρεῖσσον μικρὰ μερὶς μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἢ μεγάλη μετὰ σαφρότη-
τος.

Cf. CP f. 46^r (post Gr.Naz.); Par. f. 145^v (post Gr.Naz.)
= Gr.Naz. Or. 32.26 (PG, 36 col. 204B)

22. Ἡ μὴ διδάσκειν ἢ διδάσκειν τῷ τρόπῳ.

Cf. CP f. 46^r (post Gr.Naz.); Par. f. 145^v (post Gr.Naz.)
= Gr.Naz. Carm. 1.2.33.13 (PG, 37 col. 929A)

23. Ἀφῶνον ἔργον κρεῖσσον ἀπράκτου λόγου.

Cf. CP f. 46^r (post Gr.Naz.); Par. f. 145^v (post Gr.Naz.)
= Gr.Naz. Carm. 1.2.33.21 (PG, 37 col. 929A)

24. Βίου μὲν οὐδεὶς πώποθ' ὑψώθη δίχα,
λόγου δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ καλῶς ψοφουμένου.

Cf. CP f. 46^r (post Gr.Naz.); Par. f. 145^v (post Gr.Naz.)
= Gr.Naz. Carm. 1.2.33.22-23 (PG, 37 col. 929A)

25. Κρεῖσσον πολιὰ μετὰ φρονήσεως ἀπαιδεύτου νεότητος καὶ λελογισ-
μένη βραδυτῆς τάχους ἀπερισκέπτου.

Cf. CP ff. 46^v-47^r (post Gr.Naz.); Par. f. 145^v (post Gr.Naz.)
= Gr.Naz. Or. 2.72 (PG, 35 col. 480C)

26. Κρεῖσσον ἐπαινετὸς πόλεμος εἰρήνης χωριζούσης θεοῦ.

Cf. CP f. 46^v (post Gr.Naz.); Par. f. 145^v (post Gr.Naz.)
= Gr.Naz. Or. 2.82 (PG, 35 col. 488C)

27. Κρεῖσσον ἡττᾶσθαι καλῶς ἢ νικᾶν ἐπισφαλῶς καὶ ἀθέσμως.

Cf. CP f. 46^v (post Gr.Naz.); Par. f. 145^v (post Gr.Naz.)
= Gr.Naz. Or. 2.103 (PG, 35 col. 504B)

28. Κακῶς ἀκούειν κρεῖσσον ἢ λέγειν κακῶς.

Cf. CP f. 46^v (post Gr.Naz.); Par. f. 145^v (post Gr.Naz.)
= Gr.Naz. Carm. 1.2.33.101 (PG, 37 col. 935A)

29. Μέγα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡ κακὴ δόξα πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐμπόδιον.

Cf. CP f. 46^v (post Gr.Naz.); Par. f. 145^v (post Gr.Naz.)
= Gr.Naz. Or. 2.51 (PG, 35 col. 461A)

30. Πάντα οἶσσι φιλία καὶ πάσχουσα καὶ ἀκούουσα.

Cf. CP f. 46^v (post Gr.Naz.); Par. f. 145^v (post Gr.Naz.)
= Gr.Naz. Or. 11.3 (PG, 35 col. 833C)

31. Κρεῖσσον ὀλιγοχρόμιος βασιλεία μακρὰς τυραννίδος καὶ ὀλίγη
μερὶς τιμὴ πολλῆς κτήσεως ἀτίμου καὶ σφαλερᾶς καὶ πολλοῦ σκότους
ὀλίγον φῶς.

-γο- (verbi ὀλιγοχρόμιος) s. lin.

Cf. CP f. 47^r (post Gr.Naz.); Par. f. 145^v (post Gr.Naz.)
= Gr.Naz. Or. 2.72 (PG, 35 col. 480C)

32. Ὁ προστιθεὶς γινώσιν προστίθῃσιν ἄλγημα.

Cf. CP f. 47^r (post Gr.Naz.); Par. f. 145^v (post Gr.Naz.)
= Gr.Naz. Or. 2.75 (PG, 35 col. 481D)

33. Οὔτε φλόξ μένει, τῆς ὕλης δαπανηθείσης, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀνάπτοντι συν-
ατέρχεται, οὔτε λογισμὸς ἐμπαθῆς ὑφίσταται μαραινομένου τοῦ ὑπεκ-
καύματος.

Cf. CP f. 47^r (post Gr.Naz.); Par. f. 145^v (post Gr.Naz.)
= Gr.Naz. Or. 43.19 (PG, 36 col. 521A)

34. Τὸ πόνῳ κτηθὲν περιχαρῶς ὑπεδέχθη καὶ (f. 48^v) φιλοπόνως διεφν-
λάχθη. ὧν μέντοι πρόχειρος ὁ πορισμὸς, τούτων ἡ κτήσις εὐκαταφρόνη-
τος.

Βασίλειος in mg. abbrev. | -ν- (verbi εὐκαταφρόνητος) om.

Cf. CP f. 39^r (Bas.) = Bas. no. 1 K.; Par. f. 145^v (Bas.)
= Bas. Hex. 3.2 (PG, 29 col. 56B)

35. Παλαιωθὲν τραῦμα ψυχῆς καὶ κακοῦ μελέτη χρόνῳ βεβαιωθὲν ὁυσι-
ατὸν ἐστὶν ἢ παντελῶς ἀνίατον ὥς τὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἕξεως εἰς φύσιν μεθ-
ισταμένης.

Cf. CP f. 39^r (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 4 K.; Par. f. 145^v (post Bas.)
= Bas. Hom. in Ps. 1.6 (PG, 29 col. 224C)

36. Πολλίκις ὁ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ μικρόν τι κατορθώσας μείζων ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐν
ἀφθονίᾳ [μὴ] τὸ πᾶν κατορθώσαντος.

[μὴ] seclusi

Cf. CP f. 39^r (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 5 K.; Par. f. 145^v (post Bas.)

37. Λογισμὸς φιλαργυρία προσηλωμένος τρυτάνη ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὸ βαρὺ
τοῦ κανόνα τὴν ροπὴν καταφέρουσα.

-ηλωμένος scripsi -ηλομένος cod.

Cf. CP f. 39^v (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 6 K.; Par. f. 145^v (post Bas.)
= Bas. Is. 5.179 (PG, 30 col. 420A)

38. Ὡς ἐθέλει τὸ φέρον σε φέρειν, φέρου. ἢν δ' ἀπειθήσης, καὶ αὐτὸν
βλάψεις, καὶ τὸ φέρον σε φέρει.

βλάψεις scripsi βλάψης cod.

Cf. CP f. 39^v (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 7 K.; Par. f. 145^v (post Bas.)
= Jul. fr. 170 p. 216 B.; Anth. Pal. 10.73 (Palladas)

39. Ὅταν οἱ σώφρονες τοὺς φαύλους ἴδωσιν ἀτιμαζομένους, πολὺ προ-
θυμότερον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνθέξονται.

προθυμότερον et ἀνθέξονται scripsi προθυμώτερον et ἀνθόξωνται cod.

Cf. CP f. 39^v (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 8 K.; Par. f. 145^v (post Bas.)
= X. Cyr. 2.2.27

40. Ψυχῆς θησαύρισμα σώματος ἔνδεια, τούτου δὲ πλουτοῦντος ἐκείνη
πένεται.

Cf. CP f. 39^v (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 9 K.; Par. ff. 145^v-146^r (post Bas.)
= APM 155 S.; cf. Bas. Mor. 23.2 (PG, 32 col. 1376A)

41. Ὡν ἔνεκα ζῆν ἐθέλεις, τούτων χάριν καὶ ἀποθανεῖν μὴ κατόκνει.

Cf. CP f. 39^v (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 10 K.; Par. f. 146^r (post Bas.)
= APM 157 S.; Pyth. no. 123 S.

42. Ὁ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐρῶν μετ' οὐ πολὺ θρηγήσει τῶν ἰδίων ἀποστε-
ρούμενος.

Cf. CP f. 39^r (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 2 K.; Par. f. 146^r (post Bas.)
= Bas. Mor. 6.6 (PG, 32 col. 1193C)

43. Βίαιον μάθημα οὐ πέφυκε παραμένειν. τὸ δὲ μετὰ τέρψεως καὶ χά-
ριτος εἰσδυνόμενον μονιμώτερόν πως ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν ἐνιζάνει.

Cf. CP f. 39^v (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 12 K.; Par. f. 146^r (post Bas.)
= Bas. Hom. in Ps. 1.2 (PG, 29 col. 213A)

44. Οὔτε πῦρ, εὐκαταπρήστου ὕλης ἀψάμενον, (f. 49^r) δυνατὸν μὴ ἐπὶ
παῖσαν αὐτὴν διαβῆναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπιτύχη πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου τὴν
φλόγα διακομίζοντος οὕτως, οὔτε τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, ἐνὸς ἀψαμένην, μὴ
οὐχὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐγγίζοντας διελθεῖν, ἐξαπτόντων αὐτὴν τῶν
πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας.

Cf. CP ff. 39^v-40^r (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 13 K.; Par. f. 146^r (post Bas.)
= Bas. Hom. in Ps. 1.6 (PG, 29 col. 225B-C)

45. Τὸ ἐν κακίᾳ περίβλεπτον πολλοὺς τῶν εὐολίσθων εἰς τὸν ὅμοιον
ζῆλον ἐφέλκεται.

Cf. CP f. 40^r (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 14 K.; Par. f. 146^r (post Bas.)
= Bas. Hom. in Ps. 1.6 (PG, 29 col. 228A)

46. Αἰσχροὺν παντελῶς καὶ ἀνόητον ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖν ὡς ἀναξίου πί-
τεως καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὀρκῶν ἐπιφέρεισθαι ἀσφάλειαν.

sententiae 46 et 47 in cod. cohaerent

Cf. CP f. 40^r (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 17 K.; Par. f. 146^r (post Bas.)
= Bas. Hom. 1 in Ps. 14.5 (PG, 29 col. 261B)

47. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐορκῶν τυχὸν ἂν ποτε καὶ παρασφαλείῃ, ὁ δὲ μὴ ὁμνύ-
ων τῆς ἐπιορκίας κίνδυνον διαπέφευγεν.

Cf. CP f. 40^{r-v} (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 18 K.; Par. f. 146^r (post Bas.)
= Bas. Hom. 1 in Ps. 14.5 (PG, 29 col. 260C)

48. Ὡςπερ ἔπεται τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἡ ἀφθονία, οὕτως ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ διαβόλῳ ἡ
βασκανία.

Cf. CP f. 40^v (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 19 K.; Par. f. 146^r (post Bas.)
= Bas. Hom. 11.1 (PG, 31 col. 372B)

49. Ὡςπερ οἱ γῦπες πρὸς τὰ δυσώδη φέρονται, πολλοὺς δὲ λειμῶνας,
πολλοὺς δὲ ἡδεῖς καὶ εὐώδεις τόπους ὑπεριπτάμενοι, καὶ αἱ μῦραι τὸ
μὲν ὑγιαῖνον παρατρέχουσι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἔλκος ἐπείγονται, οὕτως καὶ οἱ
βάσκανοι τὰς μὲν τοῦ βίου λαμπρότητας καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν κατορθω-
μάτων οὐ βλέπουσι, τοῖς δὲ σαθροῖς ἐπιτίθενται.

Cf. CP f. 40^v (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 20 K.; Par. f. 146^r (post Bas.)
= Bas. Hom. 11.5 (PG, 31 col. 381A)

50. Ὡςπερ ὕδωρ πολέμιόν ἐστι πυρί, οὕτως ἀμετρία οἶνου λογισμὸν
κατασβέννυσι σώφρονα.

Cf. CP f. 40^v (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 21 K.; Par. f. 146^r (post Bas.)
= Bas. Hom. 14.2 (PG, 31 col. 448A)

51. Φύσει μὲν οὖν εἶναι καλὸν ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ τὸ τῆς (f. 49^v) ψυχῆς ἀγα-
θόν.

Cf. CP f. 40^v (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 22 K.; Par. f. 146^f (post Bas.)
= Bas. Mor. 23.2 (PG, 32 col. 1376A)

52. Ὡς περ ὁ ἰὸς σίδηρον, οὕτως ὁ φθόνος τὴν ἔχουσαν αὐτὴν ψυχὴν ἐξ-
αναλίσκει.

Cf. CP f. 40^v (post Bas.) = Bas. no. 23 K.; Par. f. 146^f (post Bas.)
= Bas. Hom. 11.1 (PG, 31 col. 373A)

53. Τότε τὰς πόλεις ἀπόλλυσθαι συμβαίνει, ὅταν μὴ δύνωνται οἱ κρι-
τούντες τοὺς φαύλους ἐκ τῶν σπουδαίων διακρίνειν.

δύνωνται scripsi δύνανται cod.

Cf. CP f. 114^v (Antisth.); deest in Par.
= Antisth. fr. V A 71 G.

54. Βίας θανάτῳ τινὰ καταδικάζων ἐδάκρυσεν, εἰπόντος δέ τινος "τί
παθὼν αὐτὸς καταδικάζων κλαίεις;" εἶπεν "ὅτι ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τῇ μὲν
φύσει τὸ συμπαθεῖς ἀποδοῦναι, τῷ δὲ νόμῳ τὴν ψῆφον."

Cf. CP f. 114^v (Bias); deest in Par.; cf. Stob. 4.5.67

55. Θεώρει ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ τὰς σουτοῦ πράξεις, ἵνα τὰς μὲν κα-
λὰς ἐπικοσμήῃς, τὰς δὲ κακὰς καλύπτῃς.

Cf. CP f. 114^v (post Biant.); deest in Par.; cf. Stob. 3.21.11

56. Σοφὸν βούλευμα ὑπὲρ χειρὸς πολλὰς καὶ κρείσσων σοφῶς ἰσχυροῦ.

σοφὸν et κρείσσων scripsi σοφῶν et κρείσσον cod.

Cf. CP f. 115^f (Diodorus); deest in Par.
= E. fr. 200 TGF²

57. Ὅταν ἀναπαύηται τὸ σῶμα, τότε σχολάζει τὸ ἔλκος νοσεῖν.

Cf. CP f. 100^v (Ach.Tat.); deest in Par.
= Ach.Tat. 1.6.3

58. Ὁ μὲν τοῦ κινδύνου φόβος θορυβεῖ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐλπίδας, ἡ δὲ ἐλπίς τοῦ τυχεῖν καλύπτει ἡδονῇ τὸν φόβον. οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἐλπίζειν φεβεῖται καὶ χαίρει τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ λυπούμενον.

καλύπτει scripsi καλύπτει cod.

Cf. CP ff. 100^v-101^r (post Ach.Tat.); deest in Par.
= Ach.Tat. 2.23.4

59. Ἴδιον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς μεγάλοις κακοῖς τὸ μὴ ἐκχέειν δάκρυα, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μετρίαις συμφοραῖς ἀφθόνως τὰ δάκρυα καταρρεῖν.

Cf. CP f. 101^r (post Ach.Tat.); deest in Par.
= Ach.Tat. 3.11.1

60. Τὰ ἡδέα, κἂν μὴ παρῇ, ταῖς ἐλπίσιν εὐφραντά.

Cf. CP f. 101^r (post Ach.Tat.); deest in Par.
= Ach.Tat. 5.22.8

61. Ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐγγράφοις διηγήσεσιν ὁ λογισμὸς (f. 50^r) πέμπων τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ ὄμματα πρὸς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τῶν γραμμάτων δεικνύει τὰ ὁρώμενα ὡς δρώμενα.

Cf. CP f. 101^r (post Ach.Tat.); deest in Par.
= Ach.Tat. 5.19.6

62. Ζηλοτυπία ἅπαξ ἐμπεσοῦσα τῇ ψυχῇ δυσέκλειπτόν ἐστιν.

-λειπτον scripsi -ληπτον cod.

Cf. CP f. 101^r (post Ach.Tat.); deest in Par.
= Ach.Tat. 6.11.1

63. Οὔτε ἵππος εὐγενὴς κρίνεται ἂν ὁ πολυτελὴ σκεύη ἔχων ἀλλ' ὁ τῇ φύσει λαμπρὸς οὔτε ἀνὴρ σπουδαῖος ὁ πολύτιμον οὐσίαν κεκτημένος ἀλλ' ὁ τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ γενναῖος.

Cf. CP f. 91^v (post Isoc.); deest in Par.
= Gnom.hom. 180

64. Εὐλαβοῦ τὰς διαβολάς, καὶ ψευδεῖς ᾧσιν. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ τῇ μὲν ἀλήθειαν ἀγνοοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν δόξαν ἀποβλέπουσιν.

εὐλαβοῦ scripsi εὐβλαβοῦ cod.

Cf. CP f. 90^v (post Isoc.); Par. f. 147^r (post Isoc.)
= Isoc. 1.17

65. Φίλους κτῶ μὴ πάντας τοὺς βουλομένους ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀξίους τῆς σῆς φύσεως ὄντας.

Cf. CP f. 91^r (post Isoc.); Par. f. 147^r (post Isoc.)
= Isoc. 2.27

66. Πιστοὺς ἡγοῦ μὴ πάντας τοὺς ὅτι ἂν λέγῃς καὶ ποιῇς ἐπαινοῦντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις ἐπιτιμῶντας.

ποιῇς scripsi ποιεῖς cod.

Cf. CP f. 91^r (post Isoc.); Par. f. 147^r (post Isoc.)
= Isoc. 2.28

67. Δίδου παρρησίαν τοῖς ἐνφρονοῦσιν, ἵνα περὶ ὧν ἀμφαγνοεῖς ἔχῃς τοὺς συνδοκιμάσοντας.

ἔχῃς scripsi ἔχεις cod.

Cf. CP f. 91^r (post Isoc.); deest in Par.
= Isoc. 2.28

68. Βλέπε καὶ τοὺς τέχνη κολακεύοντας καὶ τοὺς μετ' εὐμενείας θερά-
πεύοντας.

Cf. CP f. 91^r (amplior; post Isoc.); Par. f. 147^r (amplior; post Isoc.)
= Isoc. 2.28

69. Βούλου εἰκόνας τῆς ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον ὑπόμνημα ἢ τοῦ σώματος
καταλιπεῖν.

Cf. CP f. 91^r (post Isoc.); Par. f. 147^r (post Isoc.)
= Isoc. 2.36

70. Αἰροῦ καλῶς τεθνάναι ἢ αἰσchrῶς ζῆν.

Cf. CP f. 91^r (post Isoc.); Par. f. 147^r (post Isoc.)
= Isoc. 2.36

71. Μηδένα φίλον ποιοῦ πρὶν ἂν ἐξετάσης πῶς κέχρηται τοῖς προτέ-
ροις φίλοις. ἔλπιζε γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ σὲ γενέσθαι τοιοῦτον. (f. 50^v)

ἐξετάσης scripsi ἐξετάσεις cod.

Cf. CP f. 91^{r-v} (amplior; post Isoc.); deest in Par.
= Isoc. 1.24

72. Βραδέως μὲν φίλος γίνου, γενόμενος δὲ πειρῶ διαμένειν. ὁμοίως
γὰρ αἰσchrὸν τὸ μηδένα φίλον ἔχειν καὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους μεταλλάτ-
τειν.

Cf. CP f. 91^v (post Isoc.); deest in Par.
= Isoc. 1.24

73. Οὕτως εἶναι προαιροῦ, ὥστε μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατωτέρων καταφρονεῖ-
σθαι μήτε τοῖς καταδεεστέροις φοβερὸς εἶναι.

Διογένης (?) in mg. abbrev.

Cf. CP f. 88^{r-v} (post Arist.); deest in Par.

74. Ὁ μὴ εἰδῶς σιωπᾶν οὐκ οἶδε διαλέγεσθαι.

Cf. CP f. 88^v (post Arist.); deest in Par.
= Arist. Sent. 13 R.

75. Ἀδρανέστερος εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ ὁ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἢ τῶν πολεμίων ἀντι-
ρώς, καὶ γὰρ χαλεπώτατόν ἐστιν ἑαυτὸν νικῆσαι.

Cf. CP f. 88^v (post Arist.); Par. f. 147^r (post Arist.)
= Arist. Sent. 2 R.

76. Κρεῖσσον τὰς ἐπιθυμίας κολάζειν ἢ δι' αὐτὰς κολάζεσθαι.

Cf. CP f. 88^v (post Arist.); Par. f. 147^r (post Arist.); cf. DIE 183 (anon.), Flor. duo-
gr. 90 S. (Sext.).

77. Τὸ μὴ αἰσχύνεσθαι κακὸν ὄντα κακίας ὑπερβολή.

Cf. CP f. 88^v (post Arist.); Par. f. 147^r (post Arist.)
= Arist. Sent. 17 R.

78. Ὁ πολλοῖς φοβερὸς ὢν πολλοὺς φοβεῖται.

Cf. CP f. 88^v (post Arist.); Par. f. 147^r (post Arist.)
= Arist. Sent. 5 R.

79. Οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἀναμαρτήτου καθίστηται ἑαυτὸν ὁ τὸ ἁμαρτηθὲν ὁμο-
λογήσας ἐπεικῶς.

Cf. CP f. 88^v (post Arist.); deest in Par.

80. Ἐκ τοῦ βίου κράτιστόν ἐστιν ὑπεξελθεῖν ὥσπερ ἐκ συμποσίου μήτε
διψῶντα μήτε μεθύοντα.

Cf. CP f. 88^v (post Arist.); deest in Par.
= Arist. Sent. 15 R.

81. Ὁ ἐν τοσφ διαθήκας γραφῶν παραπλήσια πάσχει τοῖς ἐν λημῶνι θαλαττίῳ εὐτρεπίζειν ἀρχομένοις τὸ τῆς νεῶς ὄπλα.

Cf. CP f. 89^r (post Arist.); Par. f. 147^r (post Arist.)
= Arist. Sent. 16 R.

82. Πάθος ὅπαν τὸ μὲν ὀξέως γνωσκόμενον εὐβοήθητον, τὸ δὲ χρόνῳ παραπεμπόμενον ἐγγυὲς ἀνίατον.

εὐβοήθητον scripsi *εὐσθήθητον* cod.

Cf. CP f. 102^r (post Hld.); deest in Par.
= Hld. 4.5.7

83. Οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν μὲν ἰδίων ἀμαρτημάτων συνήγοροι γίνονται, (f. 51^v) τῶν δὲ ἀλλοτρίων κατήγοροι.

Cf. CP f. 115^v (Ap.Ty.); deest in Par.
= Ap.Ty. Ep. 89 P.

84. Ἐχθρῷ μὴ καταπιστεύειν ὄπλα καὶ φίλῳ μὴ θαρρεῖν λόγον.

deest in CP et Par.

85. Βίος ἡσυχος χρημάτων πολλῶν περιφανέστερος.

Cf. CP f. 118^r (Nil.); deest in Par.
= Nil. Excerc. 21 (PG, 79 col. 748A)

86. Ὡοικεν ὁ τῶν φιλαργύρων βίος νεκροῦ δείπνῳ. πάντα γὰρ ἔχων τὸν εὐφρανθησόμενον οὐκ ἔχει.

Cf. CP f. 83^r (Plu.); Par. f. 146^r (Plu.)
= Gnom.hom. 2

87. Ἀχάριστον εὐεργετεῖν καὶ νεκρὸν μυρίζειν ἐν ἴσῳ κεῖται.

Cf. CP f. 83^r (post Plu.); Par. f. 146^r (post Plu.)
- Gnom.hom. 6

88. Ὁφείν τρέφειν καὶ ποιηρὸν εὐεργετεῖν ταῦτόν ἐστιν.
Ἀλέξανδρος in mg.

Cf. CP f. 85^r v (amplior; post Plu.); Par. f. 147^r (amplior; post Plu.)
- Gnom.hom. 145

89. Κρεῖσσον γὰρ χρημάτων οὐδεὶς πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ
πλήν <εἴ τις> ὅστις δ' οὗτός ἐστιν οὐχ ὀρῶ.

<εἴ τις> supplevi

deest in CP et Par.; cf. Stob. 3.10.18
= E. fr. 325 TGF²

90. Ἀλέξανδρος "βασιλικόν ἐστιν" ἔφησεν "εὖ ποιῶντα κακῶς ἀκού-
ειν."

Cf. Par. f. 146^r (amplior; post Plu.); deest in CP
= Plu. Mor. 181E

91. Τὸ ἀπελπισθὲν ἅπαξ ἐξήρηται τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ μηδαμόθεν ἔτι προσ-
δοκώμενον ἀπαλλαγὴν παρασκευάζει τοὺς κάμνοντας.

μηδαμόθεν scripsi μηδαμῶθεν cod.

Cf. CP f. 101^v (post Hld.); deest in Par.
= Hld. 1.15.3

92. Πολλάκις τὸ χαρᾶς ὑπερβιάλλον εἰς ἀλγεινὸν περιπίπτει καὶ τῆς
ἡδονῆς τὸ ἄμετρον ἐπίσπαστον λύπης ἐγένετο.

λύπης ἐγένετο] fortasse λύπην ἐγέννησεν

Cf. CP f. 101^v (post Hld.); deest in Par.
= Hld. 2.6.4

93. Μεγάλη τυραννὶς ἀνδρὶ τέκνα καὶ γυνή.

deest in CP et Par.; cf. Stob. 4.22a.1
= E. fr. 543 TGF²; Men. Mon. 506 J.

94. Ὅστις δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ πλεόν ἔχειν πέφυκεν ἀνὴρ,
οὐδὲν φρονεῖ δίκαιον οὐδὲ βούλεται,
φίλοις τ' ἄμικτός ἐστι καὶ πάσῃ πόλει.

ὅστις et πέφυκεν scripsi ὥς τις et πέφυκ' cod.

Cf. CP f. 127^v (E.) = Stob. 3.10.7; deest in Par.
= E. fr. 425 TGF²

95. Ὅστις δὲ διαβολαῖσι πείθεται ταχύ,
ἢ πονηρός ἐστιν αὐτὸς τοὺς τρόπους
ἢ παντάπασι παιδαρίου γνώμην ἔχει.

Μενάνδρου in mg. | ὅστις scripsi ὥς τις cod.

Cf. CP f. 136^v (post Men.) = Stob. 3.42.6; deest in Par.
= Men. fr. 541 K.

96. Ἐμοὶ μὲν ὄνειδος ἡ πατρίς, σὺ δὲ τῇ πατρίδι.

Ἀναχάρσιδος in mg.

deest in CP et Par.; cf. D.L. 1.104; Wien. Apophth. 61 etc.
= Anach. A 1A-F K.

FROM PAÑCATANTRA TO STEPHANITES AND ICHNELATES:
SOME NOTES ON THE OLD SYRIAC TRANSLATION OF
KALĪLAH WA-DIMNAH

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I

As one of the more remarkable events in the field of Aramaic philology we might characterize the discovery of an Old Syriac text that turned out to contain a translation of a Middle Persian version of the *Pañcatantram*, perhaps "Having five warps in the loom", cf. *Tripitakam*, "The three baskets", and Πεντάτευχος, to τεύχος = *volumen*, "scroll of papyrus"; cf. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, I, Lief. 8, p. 622, and F. de Blois, p. 16.

In 1859 the ingenious Theodor Benfey (1809-1881) presented the well-known Old Indian collection of fables to the learned world in his famous work *Pantschatantra: fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen*. In spite of the criticism to which his pioneering work was later exposed it has down to the present retained much of its importance, not least as a never-ceasing source of inspiration to students in the vast field of comparative Oriental literature. Thus it was also Benfey who by his universal scientific training came to a considerable extent to contribute to the discovery of the above-mentioned Syriac text. The first part of his work had the subtitle "Über das indische Grundwerk und dessen Ausflüsse, sowie über die Quellen und Verbreitung des Inhalts derselben".

It is in this part of his masterpiece that he lays the foundations of the study of the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. In that connection he took a great interest in Silvestre de Sacy's epoch-making edition, from 1816, of 'Abdallāh Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation of the Indian *Fürstenspiegel* (*nīti-śāstra*). This edition with its famous introduction was to found a school, and then also in the specific sense of being the starting-point for deeper studies of the Arabic tradition of the Indian material, a tradition that is the basis of the Greek versions, as they are accessible to us in the editions of *Stephanites and Ichnelates*. De Sacy's student Philipp Wolff in Tübingen translated his text into German (1839), and it is this translation that represents

Silvestre de Sacy's text in V. Puntoni's edition of the Greek versions of *Kalliluh and Dimnah* (1889).

Now Benfey had thoroughly studied de Sacy's edition, and more precisely it was a passage of its "Mémoire" that induced him to draw certain conclusions, which in due time were to lead him to the discovery of the above-mentioned Syriac text. Through Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, III, 1 (1725), p. 219, de Sacy knew the patriarch 'Abdīšō's catalogue of books written in Syriac, in which he says that a certain *Bwd prydwṛ*, i.e. *Bōd sâ'ōrā*, West-Syriac *Būd sâ'ūrā*, has composed various works, especially against Manicheans and Marcionites, adding: *wə-hū paššeq men Hendawāyā kārāhā də-Qalīlag wə-Damnag*, "and he translated from Indian the book *Qalīlag* and *Damnag*" (de Sacy, op. cit., p. 35); on the title *περιοδευτής*, see now also *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Oxford, 1961-1968), p. 1068 a. De Sacy himself called some of the items given by the patriarch in question, giving his own views on the difficulties he saw in accepting his text without further ado (p. 35-37); A. Baumstark speaks, however, of "die durchgehende Unzuverlässigkeit 'Abdīšō's in chronologischen Dingen" (*Aristoteles bei den Syrern vom 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert*, p. 141).

However, the one who took the discussion he found in Silvestre de Sacy's "Mémoire" seriously was Theodor Benfey, and in 1876 appeared *Kalilag und Damag. Alte syrische Übersetzung des indischen Fürstenspiegels*, with text and German translation by Gustav Bickell, and an introduction by Theodor Benfey. In this introduction — running to 147 pages — Benfey not only gave an account of the remarkable chain of events which by degrees led to the discovery of the only existing manuscript of Bōd's translation into Syriac of a Middle Persian version of a recension of an Indian *Fürstenspiegel* but also revised and deepened the results he had attained in his monumental work from 1859.

In view of the defective textual material Bickell had at his disposal, this *editio princeps* is to be considered a fine achievement. The text being mutilated, Bickell has on p. 1 of his translation the following remark: "Der Abschreiber erklärt in einer arabischen Randbemerkung, dass in der Originalhandschrift das erste Blatt, aber nicht mehr fehle." Thus for the contents of the missing folio Bickell has substituted W. Wright, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* VII: II (1873); in Wright's edition (1884) the substituted section corresponds to pp. 3,5-5,21; cf. F. de Blois, p. 1, n. 8.

Under better conditions the text was re-edited with a new translation in 1911 by Friedrich Schulthess, and now in collaboration with the dis-

from Middle Persian a reference to Silvestre de Sacy, "Mémoire", pp. 8-10, may be sufficient; cf. also F. de Blois, p. 2. Thus it must be important to try to point out Middle Persian traits in the language of Bōd, lexical as well as phraseological influences.

III

Now F. Edgerton has said: "Practically all the names of actors found in the entire *Pancatantra* are 'nomina-omina'; they are somehow or other significant of the character or fortunes of the persons who bear them. (Apparent exceptions such as *Karāṭaka* in Book I may be due to our ignorance of the real meaning of the words.)"; cf. L. Alsdorf, "Pancatantra-Miszellen", p. 357. Starting from Edgerton's words we shall now consider the meaning of the names of the two jackals which play so important a role in the first book of the *Pañcatantra*, namely *Karāṭaka* and *Damanaka*.

As a name of a jackal M. Mayrhofer understands *Karāṭakah* "wohl als 'Heuler, Jauler'", to *raṭati*, "howls, shouts" (*Kurzgef. etymol. Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, I, p. 163; III, p. 36). This means that he accepts Alsdorf's interpretation of the *Ka-* as the "pejorative Präfix" *ka-* (Alsdorf, loc. cit.), without posing, however, the question of the relationship obtaining between the Old Indian form and the Old Syriac form *Qalīlag* and the Arabic form *Kalīlah*, unfortunately quoted by Mayrhofer as "Kalilag" and "Kalīla", respectively.

Now, already in 1859 Benfey had made an important statement: in the written Middle Persian version OI *r* has been rendered by *l* and OI *l* likewise by an *r*, that in turn could be rendered by a written *l*. On the pattern of Arabic *Kalīlah* representing an older Iranian **Kalīlak* he reconstructed a Pahlavi "Kalīlak" (*Pantschatantra*, I, § 6, p. 36-37). It should be noticed that Benfey had at that time become acquainted with Pahlavi through the early works of Joseph Müller and Martin Haug but he continued incessantly his studies in this field. He studied Haug's later works on Pahlavi, and could also use Guidi's *Studii* in his "Einleitung" from 1876. As we saw, already in 1859 he made use of Arabic *Kalīlah* where he recognized a Persian *-ah* < *-ag* < *-ak*; cf. Benfey 1876, p. XIII. That OS *Qlylg* was heard and read as *Qarīrag* by Bōd, Benfey had no doubt understood; cf. Benfey 1876, p. XLIX and p. LXXXIV. The lingual, retroflex *l* of Sanskrit is also missing in Classical Arabic and can here be represented by *r*; cf. E. Sachau, *Indo-arabische Studien*, p. 17.

Now we have still to cope with two problems. 1. As far as the OI *k*-phoneme is concerned, it was opposed to the aspirated *kh*, an opposition

that was missing in Pahlavi as well as in Arabic. Moreover we find in certain Arabic texts OI *k* rendered by Arabic *k*, seldom by *q*, and OI *kh* by *k* and *h*, and OI *kh* < *sh* by *h*, seldom by *k*; remarkable is OI *varṣa*, "rain", = Arabic *brš*, *brh*, and *brh* (Sachau, op. cit., pp. 10 ff.). In Old Syriac unaspirated *k* (Greek) may be represented by *q*, and in *Qalilag* this seems to be valid also for OI *Karātaka*, if the *Q* here is not just a peculiarity of the Pahlavi alphabet; cf. MacKenzie, *A concise Pahlavi dictionary*, p. XII. As a matter of fact, Arabic *Kalilah* < Pahlavi *Klylg* /*Karīrag*/ would be a rather normal form for an OI **Karītaka* in the sense of "Stephanites" (cf. below).

2. How to explain the *ī* of OS *Qlylk* read as *Karīrag* in Pahlavi but read as *Qalilag* in Old Syriac? As regards OS *kālila*, "corona", it is to be compared with Akkadian *kilīlu*, "cerclet, headband, wreath" (CAD, 8, p. 358), but Barzōyah — a name that *per se* can have the hypocoristic meaning of "The Little Mountain" in the sense of "The very Wise man" (Arabic *ḡabal*, "the Pandit of a people"; Lane, 376 a) — might have in India been introduced into the exegesis of the indigenous interpreters of various documents (Vēda, Arthaśāstra etc.); for the "mountain", cf. Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, I, pp. 60–61. It is to be expected that etymological science (Yaska's *Nirukta* etc.) as well as pure popular etymology have played a considerable part in the interpretation of characterizing proper names of the type we find in the *Pañcatantra*.

The problem of the *ī* in *Qalilag* and *Kalilah* as against OI *Karātaka* has so far not been solved. F. de Blois assumes that Burzōy heard the name as *Karīraka* and that the title of the Middle Persian book was *Karīrak ud Damanak* (p. 12), that is, *Klylk w Dmnk* was the title of the book and *Karīrag u Damanag* its pronunciation. However that may be, the problem of the *ī* instead of the OI second *a* remains unsolved.

Now, in view of what has been said about indigenous exegesis etc., and considering the higher rank that characterizes *Karātaka*, the name of this jackal might have been combined with OI *kīrītah*, "diadem, crown"; cf. *kīrītin* as an epithet of Indra (Mayrhofer, I, p. 211). Thus *Karātaka*, according to Benfey perhaps "Krāhe" (*Pantschatantra*, II, p. 8, n. 2), has been renamed to *Karītaka*, "The Crowned", the Στεφανίτης, "wearing a wreath", OS *Qalilag* and Arabic *Kalilah* having thus *per se* the same meaning, a meaning corroborated by the existence of Syriac *kālila* and Arabic *iklīl*, "crown".

To say how Barzōyah has understood OI *Damanaka* is more difficult, according to Benfey "Bändiger" (*Pantschatantra*, II, p. 8, n. 3), while this name to Edgerton is "something like victor" (*Pantschatantra Reconstructed*, 2, p. 276, n. 6), that is, in both cases from the IE ideomor-

pheme DEMH: (Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, I, Lief. 9/1991, p. 698). According to F. de Blois the name of Damanaka "presents no difficulties" (p. 12), not so, however, M. Mayrhofer who is of the opinion that Ol *damanak-* is identical with *damanah*, "Artemisia Indica", and not to be distinguished from Middle Persian *dramnak*, "wormwood", i.e. *dramanag* (*Kurzgef. etymol. Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, III, p. 731). To this *dramanag* belongs, for instance, *dramanag dašfīg*, "Artemisia campestris", and OS *drmg*, "Artemisia abrotonum" (LS, 167 b); cf. Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1866), p. 34, as well as Np. *dirmanah* "wormwood". If Mayrhofer's opinion about the identity between Pahlavi *dramanag* and Ol *damanaka-* is correct, we must ask the question in what way this plant-name could be considered characteristic precisely of the jackal *Damanaka*. The answer to this question could then be, for instance, the colour of the plant in question or some idea connected with what is expressed, for instance, in the notion of Iranian *daxša*, "desert, steppe", Pahlavi "plain, open ground" (*OrSuec*, 40/1992, pp. 220–225). If, however, this etymology is not correct we shall have to return to Benfey's "Bändiger" and Edgerton's "victor"; cf. Mayrhofer, op. cit., II, p. 19: *damāh*, "bändigend/taming". *Ιχνηλάτης*, "tracker", emphasizes more the aggressiveness of this jackal. In Ibn al-Muqaffa' it is said of the two jackals that they were educated and intelligent but that Dimna (Arabic "track") was also malignant and the one who in this spirit most attentively contemplated the conditions and situations of his victims (cf. Cheikho, 1923, pp. 54–55).

IV

The frame story (*kathāmukha*) of *Pañcatantra* leads to a literary technique that involves the frequent occurrence also in the *Kalīlah wa-Dimmah* of stereotyped phrases such as *Wa-kayfa kāna ḍalika?*, "And how was that?" Let me now illustrate the Indian background of this Arabic phrase by quoting a passage from the beginning of Hertel's translation of the *Tantrākhyāyika*. After the *Kathāmukha*, "Anfang der Erzählungen", pp. 1–3, comes "I. Klugheitsfall: Entzweiung der Freunde", pp. 4–7, where we read on p. 7: "Zwei Schakale nun, Karāṭaka und Damanaka mit Namen, waren die Söhne seines (verstorbenen) Ministers. Und die beiden berieten sich miteinander. Da sagte Damanaka: 'Lieber Karāṭaka, weshalb ist unser Herr Piṅgalaka, dessen Sinn darauf stand, Wasser zu schöpfen, hier geblieben?' Der (andere) sagte: 'Wozu uns mit dieser Sache befassen, mit der wir uns nicht zu befassen haben? Und man hat

gesagt: 'Ein Mann, der sich mit Dingen befassen will, mit denen er sich nicht befassen soll, der liegt getötet da, wie der Affe, der den Keil herauszog.' Damanaka sagte: 'Und wie (war) das?' Jener sprach: 'Es war (einmal) ein Kaufmann ...' (Hertel, *Tantrākhyāyika. Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt*, II). The last passage of the Sanskrit text runs: *Damanaka āha: kathām caitat? so' bravīti: asti kaścīd vanijakah* (*Tantrākhyāyika. Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra*, Hrsg. von J. Hertel, 1910, p. 7).

Here the words *Kathām caitat* (= *ca etat*)?, "And how's that?", correspond to the words *aykan amir meṭṭul qōfā*?, "How is it said about the ape?" in Bōd's translation of the Middle Persian version of an Indian original (Schulthess, p. 3,3-4); for the use of the form *'amīr* here, cf. below, p. 174.

Now, from *katham*, "how?", has the delocutive texteme *Kathayati* "He tells, talks about" been formed: < "He says: *Katham*", "How?", from which then the delocutive lexeme *kathā*, "story, tale, fable" has been formed, cf. the delocutive lexeme *itihāsa*, "history, legend" < *ini ha āsa*, "thus, indeed, it was"; cf. Benveniste, *Problèmes*, I, pp. 277 ff. We shall in this connection pose the following question: What was the Middle Persian word for "fable", the word that translated *kathā* and was itself rendered by OS *šarbā*, "story", a word to be dealt with below, p. 176?

As for this Middle Persian word I should like to suggest *afsān*, "fable", thus bearing in mind a famous Middle Persian collection of stories, namely the *Hazār afsānag*, "The thousand stories", a collection that is the basis of "A thousand and One Nights" and thus also an intermediary of Indian elements such as the technique of the frame story. The importance of Manichean story-tellers for the diffusion of certain themes occurring in this kind of literature should not be underestimated; cf. Manichean Middle Persian *'ps'nag*.

It is true, the etymology of this *afsān* is obscure, but one could simply think of an *afsān*, "fable", as being an */ef-sān/* with assimilation < *ew-sān*, from an *ēw-sān*, "uniform, alike", where *ēw* is "1", ideogram *HD* (OP *aiva* "one") + *sān*, "kind, manner", as in Np. *yaksān*, "the same, ditto, equal to, similar, of the same order, in the same series or manner" (Steingass); cf. OS *'akxad*, "simul" < *'ak-xad*, "as one". If this assumption holds true our *afsān* would originally mean — like Arabic *maṣāl* — "likeness, parable", cf. Akkadian *mašālum*, *imšul*, *imaššal*, *mašil*, 1. To be similar. 2. To be half (*CAD*, 10, 1, pp. 355-358). It is the connection between "half" and "equal" that is important here as well as the connection between "half" and "mid-point, centre" in the case of

mīslu (CAD, 10, II, p. 126); cf. Arabic *liqq*, "half" and "like", from *ṣaqqā*, *yaṣuqqu*, "cut, cleave, divide"; Hebr. *māšal*, "to be equal to something and thus justified in ruling".

V

The stereotyped question *Wa-kayfā kāna ḏalika?* has already been mentioned. We shall now consider another stereotyped form of expression in Bōd, a type that may be used as a proof of his translating directly from Pahlavi, if such a proof might be considered necessary. The type I have in mind is: *W-amīr-(h)ā dā-*, rendered by Schulthess by "Und es heisst:" but literally: "And it is said, that" + direct speech, for instance, *W-amīr-ā dā-haw man da-mšammāhā'it wā-am saggi xayā, āfen zā'ōr xayā hā, bā-naggir xayyā xāšib* (Schulthess, p. 4,5-6), "Und es heisst, dass 'Wer ruhmvoll und mit vielen lebt, wird, wenn er auch nur kurze Zeit lebt, für langlebig geachtet'." (transl., p. 4, no. 6), that is, *dā-* is here always or generally *dā-* recitativum.

It is important to point out that in such cases we are dealing with an impersonal form of expression of a quotation, the informant of which is unknown; the subject of these sayings generally is "wisdom" in our life on earth, for the *ṣāḥib ad-dunyā* (*Kalīla*, p. 53 Cheikho) or for *ὁ ἐν τῇ βίῃ ἀναστρεφόμενος* (*Stephanites*, ed. Sjöberg, p. 151,7).

As regards the *dā-* recitativum it is not without interest to notice that its Greek equivalent *ὅτι* recitativum occurs abundantly in John Malalas (*Yōxannān Mallālā*, c. 490 – c. 570), being here regarded by E. Schwyzler as "volkstümlicher Gebrauch" (*Griechische Grammatik*, II [Munich, 1959], p. 638, note 2). For it should be pointed out that *dā-* in this function is rather frequent in Old Syriac, where it has been furthered through the language of the Bible, into which it had come chiefly from the New Testament (F. Blass – A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*⁴ [Göttingen, 1913], § 470), although the phenomenon is to be found also in the Septuagint. If this usage in Malalas is to be regarded as a *syriasmus* or not I cannot say; cf. Nöldeke, § 367.

Other instances of the phrase *amīr-ā dā-* are to be found p. 5,17; 6,6; 8,3. However, on p. 4,8 we find a variant: *Wā-tāb amirā dā-*, "Und wiederum heisst es" (transl., p. 5, no. 7), and the form *amirā* we also find 6,12-13; 6,16; 7,1; 8,7; 8,10, and p. 8-9. Moreover there is another type to be noticed, namely p. 6,12-13: *W-amirā la-xakkimā dā-ba-tlāt šebwān ...*, "Haben doch die Weisen gesagt: Durch drei Dinge ..." (transl., p. 7, no. 17); cf. the present writer in *Das altsyrische Verbalsystem*, pp. 71 ff.

Thus we have to do with two types, i.e. *'amīr-ā*, "It is said", and *'amīrā*, "Something said (is)", so that we shall consider the last-mentioned form to be feminine in the function of a neutre. Thus we are justified in explaining this alternation of masculine and feminine in accordance with Nöldeke, § 254 C, p. 192, *infra*. However, this explanation should not, in this specific case, prevent us from assuming a Middle Persian influence: *Gufī estēt kūr*, according to Nyberg "ist gesagt worden", "heisst" with a *kūr* in the function of a *ōrī* recitativum (*Hilfsbuch*, II, p. 84 and p. 131).

Now it is of some interest to see how our *Wa-kayfa kōna dalika?* is translated in the younger Syriac version (ed. W. Wright). Here we meet with the type *W-aykanna hawā tebbeh?* (7.22), "And how was his history?", where *tebbā* corresponds to *šarbā*, for instance, in Bōd, p. 74, 8-9: *aykan-ū hānā šarbā?*, "How is this history?"; cf. Wright 30,1 *W-aykan hawā šarbeh?*, "And how was his story?". We also find the same type with *tebbā* in Wright, 40,5; 43,18; 48,1-2; 50,4-5; 86,9; 87,12-13; 91,24. The same type with *su'rāneh* occurs 39,6-7: "How was his business?" (< "act, deed"); cf. also 69,5 and 74,10. But 48,1-2 we find the above-mentioned *amīr-dā*. In Wright the formula is followed by *āmīrīn*, "they say", "one says", which means that we are confronted with a phenomenon that might be described as the two aspects of impersonality: *'amīr*, "is said" = static / *'āmīrīn*, "they say" ~ "one says" non static = 1. Fientic. 2. Neutral, the type *'āmīrīn* being the well-known successor of the Aramaic *yēmārūn*. In the ideogram *HZYTWN-m* the Middle Persian textemics are copied, so to speak, "ideogramatically": *h'zē*, "it is seen (by X)" = *dūt* > *HZY-t/yihzōn*, "they see" = *vēnēnd* > *HZY-t + wn* > *HZYTWN-m*, an infinitive, in which the aspectual opposition *dūt/vēnēnd*, represented by *-t/-nt*, ideographic *-t/-wn*, is abolished. Thus we obtain from the ideographic system as such automatically the lexemic distinction verbum/non-verbum, e.g. *MTA* = *deh*, "land"; cf. *OrSuec* 16/1968, pp. 226-234.

VI

In his pioneering work *Tantrākyāyika*. *Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra*, 1/1909, pp. 71 ff., Hertel points out that in Bōd's translation Chapter IV of the Indian collection of fables comes immediately after Chapter II of this collection and thus in Bōd appears as Chapter III (Schulthess, pp. 74 ff.; transl. pp. 74 ff.) = Chapter V of *Stephanites*, ed. Sjöberg = Puntoni, pp. 228 ff. In Bōd Chapter III begins: *Tāb tar'ā d-gls wa-d-glā šanāyā*, "Now comes the Chapter of the ape and the silly

tortoise". The choice of the word *tar'a*, "porta" and "capitulum", might in this connection have been influenced by Pahlavi *dar*, "door" and "chapter", while Ibn al-Muqaffa' has *bāb*, "door" and "chapter", a word that we also find as an ideogram for Pahlavi *dar*, "door, palace; chapter, subject"; cf. Ja. *bābā*, "porta, tractatus".

For "ape" Bōd has two words, *qōfā* and the already mentioned *gls*, for which Brockelmann adduces the following variants: *glws*, *gwlws*, *gylws*, *g'lsā*, *glsā*, *gylsā* (LS), according to Nöldeke from *καλλιᾶς* = *πίθηκος* "tame ape" (LSJ, 867 a). Of these forms it is only the plural *g'lsā* that might speak for this etymology: *galsā* < **qalsā*; cf. also OS *šā'ātāglsyā*, "*πιθηκισμός*" (LS, 119 a), LSJ, 1403 b.

OS *qōfā* is identical with Hebr. *qōf*, the origin of which is disputed, but here it probably translates Pahlavi *kabīg*, written *kpyk* to OI *kapi-* (Mayrhofer, op. cit., I, p. 157). In *Stephanites* *πίθηξ* (Aesopus) is the normal form.

More remarkable, however, is that in Chapter IV we find on the one hand *γλαύξ*, "owl" (220,3.4; 221,6) — in the Arabic and Syriac versions *būm* and *būma* respectively — and on the other *βοῦφος*, "owl" (215,4.6.10), a word which in LSJ (1940) is only registered in the Addenda, p. 2054 b, as "name of a night-bird", and there with only one example, Cyranides, p. 86, and in the *Supplement*, ed. E. A. Barber (1968) with the same example. In E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. Memorial edition (1904), p. 316 a, we find however *βοῦφος*, "bubo", "a species of owl", with a reference to Zonaras, *Lexicon*, 397. It may be true that our *būm* could be considered an onomatopoetic word but nevertheless it is not without interest to notice that precisely Pahlavi knows of a *būf* written *bwp*, "owl".

The beginning of Chapter III of Bōd's translation runs as follows (Schulthess, text, p. 74,2-10): "And Dbšrm said: I have heard this, how a friend is gained and what the benefit (*yutrānā*) of friendship is. And now, if it please you, tell me also this, that when somebody has acquired something good and does not know how to keep it, it gets lost for him. And Bydwg said: *šābtā lā-meqnəyāh yattir pəšiq men da-l-māxdəyāh* etc. ... *Wə-Dbšrm emar: aykan-ā hānā šarbā?*, or in Schulthess' translation (p. 74): "Ein Gut zu erwerben ist viel leichter als es festzuhalten etc. ... Dbšrm sprach: Was ist das für eine Geschichte (*šarbā*)?"

We have already come across this *šarbā*, according to Brockelmann (LS) 1. Narratio, historia. 2. Sermo. 3. Tractatus. 4. Questio. 5. Thema. 6. Res. 7. Causa. It belongs, says Brockelmann, to Arabic *šarḥun*. "via, modus agendi", i.e. to *saraba*, *yasrubu*, *surūḥun*, "He went away at random into the country" (Lane, 1340 c). Now there is in Syriac also

a *sarbata*, "stirps, gens, familia", according to Brockelmann etymologically belonging to Arabic *surbatun*, "agmen animalium", and thus from the same ideomorpheme *sr̥b*. In this case *sr̥b* II and III (LS) should have been dealt with under the same entry. However this may be, I would like to stress the original unity of both units, taking "the run" as the point of departure for an explanation: "the run of events" > "history", and "the run of births, founding a family", respectively, cf. the *γενεαλόγος*, "he who counts the families founding a gens"; cf. also Hebr. *tālēdōt*, "Geschlechtsfolge, Geschlechtsgeschichte".

As for the above-mentioned *yutrānā*, "utilitas, lucrum", Bōd knew very well this concept from the Syriac Bible as well as from Greek philosophy which highly interested also Xosrav Anōširvān (531-575), his contemporary; cf. however Agathias (ed. R. Keydell, p. 77). This kind of *ὠφέλεια* and its derivations are to be found also in *Stephanites*, 167,11; 186,6; 213,15; 218,14; 204,10 (ed. Sjöberg). In the Indian collection of fables the corresponding term is *artha*, "advantage, profit", and in India *artha* and *nīti*, "conduct", belonged together as representing two main pillars of the ideology of the *Fürstenspiegel*. Moreover *artha* in its more general sense is of old considered one of the *trivarga*, i.e. the three goals of human existence; the other two are *dharma* and *kāma*. In Syriac translations of Greek philosophy *dubbārā*, "ratio agendi", pl. "mores", and *yutrānā*, "benefit", belong together.

However, without thorough studies it is difficult to form an idea about what in the lost Pahlavi version were the corresponding expressions, the more so as according to F. de Blois most works of the secular Sasanian literature are lost (p. 1). But with the aid of the OI *nīti*, "conduct", we can on the one hand think of a derivation from Middle Persian *nīdan*, "lead, conduct", the more so since the ideogram for the lexeme in *ney*, "lead, conduct", the more so since the ideogram for the lexeme in *ney*, "lead, conduct", the more so since the ideogram for the lexeme in question is *YDBLWN-in* (MacKenzie) = *yidbōrūn*. On the other hand we can also think of Pahlavi *rawišnīh*, "behaviour", a derivation from *raftan*, *raw-*, "go, move, proceed"; cf. OI *carati*, "move, go, wander about", but *carita-*, "behaviour, deeds, life". It is to be noticed that the ideogram for *raftan* is *SGYTWN-in*, from Ja. *sagā*, "go", *sagya*, "Gang, Lauf, Abhandlung" (Dalman), OS *asgi*, "ivit"; according to Nyberg the ideogram is *SGYT-* (*Manual*, II, p. 164); *sagē*, "is gone (by X)" = *raft* ~ *yisgōn* = *ravēnd*, i.e. static/fientic, cf. above, p. 175. For "profit, interest" Pahlavi has also *waxš* from *waxšīdan*, "grow, wax".

In this connection Paulus Persa should also be mentioned as well as his treatise on the logic of Aristotle. It is composed in Syriac (ed. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, IV, pp. 1-32) but according to some scholars it was originally written in Pahlavi, so, for instance, D. Gutas, *Der Iskan*, 60

(1983), pp. 231–267. Anyone dealing with this subject in the future will have to pay attention to what has been said above about Bōd's translation into Syriac of a Middle Persian original. For we ought also to be able to detect in the language of Severus Sēboxi's (died 666) Syriac translation of Paulus Persa's treatise unambiguous traces of the alleged Middle Persian original.

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THE SOURCES OF PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS OF TEL-MAHRĒ FOR THE SECOND PART OF HIS CHRONICLE

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As has been pointed out elsewhere, Pseudo-Dionysius' work does not possess any subdivision of its own.¹ What may serve as a guide to the division of the *Chronicle* is the so-called "introduction" in which Pseudo-Dionysius informs us about his main sources, "... Eusebius, for from him we have taken the material for this book up to the years of the believer Constantine; from that (time) up to Theodosius the Younger: from Socrates, who was of the Novatianist confession; from Theodosius then to the emperor Justinian: from the holy John bishop of Asia" (PD II 145,22-146,3). Accordingly, that section of the *Chronicle* which was based on the work of Socrates (together with some additional material, as will be shown) PD himself might have called his 'second part'. However, here we shall extend, as a matter of convention, the meaning of the phrase 'the second part' to include the material of PD up to the end of the first volume of J.-B. Chabot's standard edition (PD I).² Thus what will here be understood as 'the second part' contains the text of PD I 158,28-317,25/115-233.

The source-analytical research on this part of PD includes up to now articles by F. Nau of 1897³ and F. Haase of 1916⁴ and the relevant

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** In text references the first numbers refer to the text of an original work (pages, columns, lines) and those after the oblique stroke to a translation (pages only), if such exists. For abbreviations, see end of the article.

¹ Witakowski, "Third part", 252.

² See Abbreviations for bibliographical data.

³ F. Nau, "Étude sur les parties inédites de la chronique ecclésiastique attribuée à Denys de Tellmahré (845)", *ROC* 2 (1897), 41-68.

⁴ F. Haase, "Untersuchungen zur Chronik des Pseudo-Dionysios von Tell-Mahré", *OrChr* 2:6 (1916), 65-90, 240-270.

chapter in A. D'yakonov's monograph on John of Ephesus of 1908.⁵ All these studies were done before the publication of the second part of PD's historiographical work (1927), and since no further progress in this field, other than Chabot's notes in the PD I translation volume, was made thereafter,⁶ resuming the task nearly three quarters of a century later may be justified.

As PD himself informs us his main source for the part in question was 'Socrates'. This is of course the *Church History*⁷ by Socrates Scholasticus (c. 380 – c. 450), a lawyer of Constantinople. Conceived as a continuation of the *Church History* of Eusebius it covers the years 306–439, i.e. from Constantine's accession to the reign of Theodosius. The work contains information not only on the history of the Church but also on secular matters. Its value is enhanced by the quotation, most often *in extenso*, of original documents, such as imperial or episcopal letters (of which however PD copied none). On the whole it is regarded as well balanced if not completely objective. In many cases, perhaps not without being influenced by his profession, the author leaves the judgement of controversial matters or persons to the reader.⁸

The remark quoted above about Socrates being "of the Novatianist confession"⁹ cannot of course be an invention of PD. Rather he took it over from one of his sources. It may go back to Severus of Antioch, who is known to have regarded Socrates as a Novatianist.¹⁰ By means of the Syriac translation of his letters this opinion may have spread among the Syrians. On the other hand Socrates' evident sympathy for the Nova-

⁵ A. D'yakonov, *Ioann Yefesskiy i yego tserkovno-istoricheskiye trudy* (St Petersburg, 1908), 166–303.

⁶ Contributions to research on particular lemmata and/or issues will be mentioned in the footnotes.

⁷ See Socr in Abbreviations.

⁸ On Socrates as an historian, see G. F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret and Evagrius* [Théologie Historique, 46] (Paris, 1977), 167–189; Z. V. Udaltsova, "Tserkovniye istoriki ranney Vizantii", *VizVrem* 43 (1982), 13–17; F. Winkelmann, "Die Kirchengeschichtswerke im oströmischen Reich", *ByzSlav* 37 (1976), 172–175.

⁹ PD II 146,1: *Swqrtys d-men dehlā d-N'wytynw*.

¹⁰ *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus Patriarch of Antioch in the Syriac version of Athanasius of Nisibis*, ed. and tr. by E. W. Brooks (London, 1903–04), II, 353,3 f./312; P. Allen, "The use of heretics and heresies in the Greek church historians: studies in Socrates and Theodoret", in *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. by G. Clarke (Rushcutters Bay [Australia], 1990), 267.

ianists,¹¹ a schismatic group which after the persecution of Decius (249-250) would not approve of the *lapsi* who had returned to the Church. It may very well be a result of his use of the Novatianist presbyter Auxanion's oral testimonies as a source (for example, II,38; 324-329).¹²

Nothing is known as to when and by whom the Syriac translation of Socrates' work was made. The only information Awdisho gives us about the work in his *Catalogue* is: "Socrates composed two volumes of church history and the story of the emperors Constantine and Jovian."¹³ Apart from PD it was used by Michael the Syrian and BarHebraeus,¹⁴ as well as Elias BarShinaya of Nisibis, on the East Syrian side. It seems also to have been drawn upon, although without mentioning the source, by other chronographers, both West Syrian — Jacob of Edessa, the author of the *Chronicle to the year 846*, and that of the *Chronicle to the year 1234* —,¹⁵ and East Syrian — the author of the so-called *Documentum nestorianum*, also known as the *Fragment on the history of the Western Church*.¹⁶

Moreover the Syriac text has been preserved in an independent manuscript tradition, but so far it remains unpublished. Two manuscripts of Socrates' *Church History* in Syriac are known: one in the Biblioteca Va-

¹¹ R. Janin, "Les novatiens orientaux", *EO* 28 (1929), 385-397; H. J. Vogt, *Coetus sanctorum: der Kirchenbegriff des Novatian und die Geschichte seiner Sonderkirche* (Bonn, 1968); T. Gregory, "Novatianism: a rigorous sect in the Christian Roman Empire", *Byzantine Studies* 2 (1975), 1-18.

¹² On Auxanion's material see: F. Geppert, *Die Quellen des Kirchenhistorikers Socrates Scholasticus* [Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche, 3:4] (Leipzig, 1898), 59-65; C. Curti, "Lo scisma di Novaziano nell'interpretazione dello storico Socrate", *La storiografia ecclesiastica nella tarda Antichità: atti del convegno tenuto in Ence (3-8 XII 1978)* ... (Messina, 1980), 313-331, does not discuss the problem of Socrates' source; on Novatianist material see too A. Ferrarini, "Eresia e storiografia ecclesiastica: contributi novaziani alla storiografia di Socrate (Scolastico)", *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università di Padova* 4 (1979), 127-185; idem, "Tradizioni orali nella Storia ecclesiastica di Socrate Scolastico", *Studia Patavina* 28 (1981), 29-84; P. Allen, op. cit. (note 10), 265-289.

¹³ J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana in qua manuscripti codices Syriaci* ..., t. III:1 (Rome, 1725), 41: *Socratis tarān pēgnōn d-ēphēvānī* *codices Syriaci* ..., t. III:1 (Rome, 1725), 41: *Socratis tarān pēgnōn d-ēphēvānī*.

¹⁴ Michael the Syrian in the introduction, p. (no Syriac text) 2, and e.g. bk 7, 121b,8; [240; 127c,21 f./1,247; BarHebraeus, 1^{vb},1 f./1; 25^{fa},6/62.

¹⁵ For the editions and translations of these historiographic works see Abbreviations.

¹⁶ Ed. & tr. by J.-B. Chabot in *Chr. min.* 371-378/297-304, first published by F. Goullier, "Ein nestorianisches Bruchstück zur Kirchengeschichte des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts", *OrChr* 1 (1901), 80-97.

ticana¹⁷ and the other (8 folios only) in the Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine, London.¹⁸ The Vatican manuscript introduces Socrates' text under the title *Useful chapters from the Church History written by Socrates*.¹⁹ Accordingly it does not contain the translation of the entire work but only excerpts, though quite extensive, from such a translation. The material omitted concerns events of little interest to Syriac readers, especially those which took place in remote geographical areas. Another result of Syriac editing is the lack of chapter numbers.

On the other hand the London folios, although not easily legible, provide a full translation of the fragment of Socrates' work they cover (beginning of book I, up to ch. 7),²⁰ complete with chapter numbering. This proves that a full translation did once exist, of which the London manuscript provides a fragment and the Vatican manuscript an edited, abbreviated version.

There are also extant short quotations from the work in some Syriac manuscripts which however may not come from the Syriac Socrates but were rather translated separately together with the whole collection of scholia on the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzos²¹ or with some works of Severus of Antioch,²² to which they belong.

Socrates' work is however only one of the sources, albeit the main one, for the part of PD's work analyzed here. In addition to it he excerpted a number of supplementary sources; such is his usual method.²³ In accordance with PD's indication of his source in the introduction, the

¹⁷ Ms. Vat. Sir. 145, fol. 22^v–65^v; S. E. & J. S. Assemanus, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*, pars 1, t. 3: complectens reliquos codices Chaldaicos sive Syriacos (Rome, 1759; repr. Paris, 1926), 255–258, where a list of the chapters translated is provided.

¹⁸ N. Allen, "Syriac Fragments in the Wellcome Institute Library". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1987, 43–45.

¹⁹ Fol. 22^v, 5: *Šarbē mawtrānē men ʿEglesiyaqī da-ktibā l-Socratis*.

²⁰ Allen, op. cit., 45.

²¹ Together with quotations from the *Church History* of Theodoretus of Cyrhus; A. de Halleux, "L'Histoire ecclésiastique de Théodoret dans les florilèges grégoriens syriaques", in *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont: contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux* [Cahiers d'orientalisme, 20] (Geneva, 1988), 222.

²² *Contra impium Grammaticum*, W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the year 1838*, II (London, 1871), 553; and an excerpt from Severus' *Cathedral Homilies* in a *catena Patrum*, ibid., 937. Publication of the complete known Syriac material of Socrates is an overdue task for the studies of Syriac historiography.

²³ Witakowski, *Syriac Chronicle*, 116.

metahistoriographic remark in PD I 158,28-159,2/119 has to be regarded as the beginning of the second part of the *Chronicle*: "The text (*maktābānūtā*) which we have taken from Eusebius is finished, together with some (other) accounts which we have gathered from many quarters in order to complete the path we tread. Now we derive (*nāsbinna*) (the material) from the writer (*maktābānā*) Socrates."

However, material derived from Socrates can be found even before this remark. In fact it seems to start in the preceding lemma (PD I 157,1-158,27/117-119), which contains the story of the finding of the Cross by Helen, i.e. Socr I,17. Except for the beginning, the story has been copied out practically in literal accordance with Socrates' text. Unless PD here used an earlier excerpt from Socrates, which he might have found in the library of his monastery, or some other source (a possibility which will have to be investigated in a future study), we have to admit that it was only by inadvertance that PD put the metahistoriographic remark mentioned above where he did, i.e. *after* he had already started excerpting Socrates' work.

Directly after this remark PD writes: "The year 614 according to (the era of) Alexander ..." (159,3/119). The preceding date lemma — "The year 2325: Severus died and Constantine took over the reign" (PD I 154,9 f.) — is still dated according to the era of Abraham, used by Eusebius in his *Chronicle*. Therefore PD's passing to a new source, it may be observed, entails the change of chronological system as well. From now on PD will be using (with three exceptions, as we shall see) the Seleucid era as his regular time-reckoning system.

In what follows we shall try to establish, in a more systematic way, the source for each lemma of the *Chronicle*.

Lm 614 (159,3-7/119) — the flood in Edessa — comes probably from the so-called *Primaeval Chronicle of Edessa*, the existence of which we have postulated in an earlier study.²⁴ The extant *Chronicle of Edessa* also attests the flood *sub anno* 614 but seems to have preserved another part of the lemma from the *Primaeval Chronicle*.

Foundation of Drepanon/Helenopolis, Constantina and Constantinople (159,7-12/119). — Taken from Socr I,17.18.16.

Lms 2335, 2342, 2346 Abr. (159,12-19/119): Licinius' persecution of Christians and an unspecified earthquake; Licinius' death; an earthquake on Kos, respectively. — The dating of these three lemmata is a

²⁴ W. Witakowski, "Chronicles of Edessa", *OrSucc* 33-35 (1984-86), 404-406.

relapse into Abraham's era and thus they seem to come from Eusebius' *Chronicle*. It is true, they are not extant in the Armenian text, since the manuscript breaks off *anno* 2319 Abr.,²⁵ but the very reckoning system (Abraham's era) points to Eusebius' *canon*. Moreover, they are present (except the lemmata on the earthquakes) in Jerome's Latin translation.²⁶

The synchronisation point²⁷ (159,20–27/119 f.) for the 28th year of Constantine being 2350 of Abraham's era and 657 Sel., although the synchronisation of dates is something PD often copied from Eusebius (for example, in I 49,12–16), the lemma may be PD's own contribution, since it does not feature in Jerome (cf. also below, Im 646).

The metahistoriographic lemma (160,1 f./120) marking the return to the main source: "Now from the writing of Socrates; another account (*šarbā*) in brief." This is the second time PD announces material to be excerpted from Socrates. Placing the announcement here, after the return to Eusebius' material, makes sense.

Lm 610 Sel. (160,2–161,15/120 f.): the heresy of Arius. – From Socr I,6.

Lm 615 (161,15–17/121): the imperial order concerning destruction of pagan temples and sculptures. – This could be a summary of Socr I,18, but a closer correspondence seems to exist between this lemma and Sozomen's *Church History* II,5.²⁸ This is not known in Syriac translation and thus the lemma must have been taken by PD from some intermediary source. We shall return later to this problem (Im 674d).

Lm 616 (161,17–19/121): christianisation of Himyar "by a captive woman". – The source of the lemma as it stands would be unknown. It seems however that 'Himyarites' (*Hmyry*) is a mistake for 'Iberians' (*ybyr*) who, in fact, are reported by Socr I,20 to have been christianized 'by a captive woman' (i.e. St Nino²⁹). JacEd has the lemma in accordance with Socrates' 'Iberians' (289, central); so has MS (132a17–133/1,258 f.) and XI234 (I,147,25–149,29/117 f.).

²⁵ Eusebius, *Die Chronik*, aus dem Armenischen übers. v. J. Karst [GCS: Eusebius Werke, 5] (Leipzig, 1911), 227.

²⁶ Eusebii Pamphili *Chronici Canones*, latine vertit, adavxit, ad sva tempora prodvxit S. Evsebius Hieronymvs, ed. J. K. Fotheringham (London, 1923), 312 f. (*an. Const.* 14 & 17).

²⁷ Witakowski, *Syriac Chronicle*, 121 f., 145 f.

²⁸ See Sozomen in Abbreviations.

²⁹ On whom see M. Tarchnišvili, "Die Legende der heiligen Nino und die Geschichte des georgischen Nationalbewusstseins", *BZ* 40 (1940), 48–75.

Lm 617 (161,19-162,15/121): construction of churches by the emperor. - Socr I,18.

Lm 618 (162,15-165,7/121-123): the christianization of "India", i.e. of Ethiopia by Aedesius and Frumentius. The ultimate source of the lemma is Rufinus of Aquileia's (345-410) *Church History*, and more precisely the part containing the continuation of his Latin translation of Eusebius' *Church History*.³⁰ According to Socrates, Rufinus knew the story from Aedesius himself³¹ (this piece of information has not been taken over by PD). The same account is also known in Ethiopian tradition, where Frumentius is known as Abbâ Salāmā.³²

Famous monks and hierarchs (165,7-15/123). - A composite lemma of the type used quite often in PD. Most of the persons are in fact known from Socrates (Alexander: I,5; Julius: II,12; Eustathius: I,24; Paphnutius: I,11; Anthony: I,21; etc.). Hosius (I,7) is said in PD to be the bishop of Cordova, "the city in Italy"; this is not a mistake of PD's as it is already present in the London fragment of Socrates' Syriac translation³⁴ (the Vatican manuscript omits chapter 7). For the patriarchs one should suppose some sort of episcopal list, or simply church diptychs. Many Syriac chronicles have similar lists, shorter — like that in X724 — or more developed — like that in MS. The present lemma in PD was based partly on a counterfeit list of the patriarchs of the capital: it names for instance one Astrophilos (see next lemma) as patriarch of Constantinople. The Syriac spelling of the name, for which we have conventionally accepted the form proposed by Chabot (in transl. volume, p. 123), is not

³⁰ In late antiquity the terms "India, Indians" and "Ethiopia, Ethiopians" were practically coextensive, due to the alleged land connection between the Indian subcontinent and Africa reducing the "Erythrean Sea" (the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea) to a lake. Cf. A. Dihle, "The Conception of India in Hellenistic and Roman Literature", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 190 = n.s. 10 (1964), 15-23, J. Y. Nadeau, "Ethiopians", *Classical Quarterly* 64 = n.s. 20 (1970), 339-340.

³¹ Eusebius, *Die Kirchengeschichte: die lateinische Übersetzung des Rufinus*, ed. by Th. Mommsen [GCS 92; Eusebius Werke, 2] (Leipzig, 1908), 951-1040.

³² Ibid., 973.

³³ Cf. his commemoration in the Synaxarion on the 26th of Hamlê, *Le Synaxarion éthiopien: Le mois de Hamlê*, ed. I. Guidi, PO 7:3 (1911), 428-430. On the authenticity of this tradition of the christianization of Ethiopia, see B. W. W. Dombrowski & F. A. Dombrowski, "Frumentius / Abbâ Salāmā: zu den Nachrichten über die Anfänge des Christentums in Äthiopien", *OrChr* 68 (1984), 114-169.

³⁴ Allen, op. cit., 45.

certain, the manuscript being in both cases, i.e. here and in the next lemma (q.v.), not easily legible. In 165,12 it is *'snyqlws*, where the letters *nq* are uncertain, and in 165,16 *'strhylws* where *rhy* are uncertain.

Lm 619 (165,15–18/123): Astrophilos, patriarch of Constantinople, having died, Patrophilos becomes his successor. – The same, unknown, list of the patriarchs of Constantinople. More than one counterfeit list of the patriarchs of the capital was in circulation. The purpose of such lists was of course to create an ancestry (even an apostolic one) for the see of the newly founded capital. One of them, reaching back to the Apostle St Andrew, was known to MS,³⁵ and another, apparently starting with Astrophilos, to PD. The name Patrophilos (*p!rpylys*) occurs in X846 (193,22.28/149: *p!rwp!lys*) and Chabot suggested³⁶ that it might be a corruption of Metrophanes (patriarch of Constantinople AD 306/7–314), but it is also attested in the *Melkite Chronicle*³⁷ (19,5: *p!rwp!ylws*), and must thus belong to the invented list. In X846 and the *Melkite Chronicle* Patrophilos is said to be the very first patriarch of Constantinople, which suggests that the list from which his name was taken by the authors of the two chronicles had developed and that PD must have had access to the version which contained both his name and that of his predecessor. On the other hand, Metrophanes is not totally unknown in Syriac tradition; he figures in a calendar (or rather martyrologion), as a venerated hierarch under the date of 4 June.³⁸

Lm 621 (165,18–20/123): an unspecified earthquake. – Source unknown; perhaps this is the earthquake mentioned by MS (122b,30–33/1,242) which hit Alexandria (AD 320).

Lm 624 (165,20–166,12/123 f.): the war between Licinius and Constantine, Licinius sent to Thessalonica. – Socr I,3 & 4.

Lm 622 (166,12–16/124): Licinius tries to make a “comeback” to power, but is killed. – Socr I,4; the date may be a mistake (the chronicler’s or a copyist’s) since it creates a leap back in the chronological order. The sequence of the events of the preceding lemma and the present one is clear both in Socrates and in PD, and thus the intended date may have been 625 Sel. (= AD 313/14; Licinius’ death took place in 325).

³⁵ F. Haase, *Altchristliche Kirchengeschichte nach orientalischen Quellen* (Leipzig, 1925), 225.

³⁶ X846, transl., 148, note 3.

³⁷ A. de Halleux, “La Chronique Melkite abrégée du Ms. Sinait Syr. 10”, *Le Muséon* 91 (1978), 5–44.

³⁸ P. Peeters, “Le martyrologe de Rabban Sliba”, *AnBoll* 27 (1908), 186.

Manes' heresy (166,16–168,14/124 f.). – Socr 1,22; the lemma is taken over literally, though with some omissions.¹⁹

Lm 636 (168,14–169,3/125 f.): the Council of Nicaea. – Most of the names of the main protagonists could be derived from the list of the participants in Socr 1,7–8.13; and the account of the Council in 1,8 (Hosius of Cordova, Alexander of Alexandria, and Julius of Rome by proxies 1.13; Paphnutius, Spyridon 1.8). Since however PD presents the papal legates as having been sent by Julius (pope 337–352), which cannot come from Socrates, it is possible that the whole lemma comes from some other (erroneous) source. Other similarly short accounts of the Council are present in X846 (192,20–193,3/148), since most of the data correspond to those of PD's lemma (the legate Vincent is stated to have been sent by Silvester, though), and in a short list of synods and councils together with the names of the most important participants incorporated into X724, 151,13–27/116 f. The three accounts are different from each other and cannot rely upon one (direct) source. It seems that PD either reworked some account of the synod from a chronicle-like source (but not from JacEd who starts his *canon* after the council), or, more probably, made his own condensation of Socrates' account. His error concerning Julius of Rome may have been caused by the fact that Socrates never mentioned Silvester (pope 314–335) in his work, whereas Julius features in book II.

Lm 637 (169,3–6/126): the death of Alexander, bishop of Alexandria. – Socr I,15.

Lm 639 (169,6–8/126): the death of Patrophilos of Constantinople and accession of Alexander. – The same unknown source as for lm 619 above. The present lemma can also be found in X846, although undated (193,28–194,2/149). Socrates mentions Alexander as the successor of Metrophanes (I,37).

Famous hierarchs (169,8–10/126): Eustathius of Antioch and Maximus of Jerusalem. – Source unknown, probably the episcopal list of major cities referred to in lm 618b. Socrates writes about them in I,23 and 24 and II,8, respectively.

Lm 640 (169,10–17/126): the synod in Antioch and the deposition of Eustathius of Antioch. – Socr I,24.

Lm 641 (169,17–19/126): an earthquake. – Because of a lacuna the place of the disaster is unknown, and so is the source.

¹⁹ H.-Ch. Puech, "Dates manichéennes dans les chroniques syriaques", in *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud ... par ses amis et ses élèves*, II (Paris, 1939), 593–607, did not take PD into account.

Lm 643 (169,19–21/126): Aitallaha bishop of Edessa and his building works. – *XEd* 4,5–10/32, dated to 635 & 636 Sel.

Lm 642 (sic!) (169,21–170,2/126): Constantine makes his sons caesars; the oldest son builds Tella de-Mauzelath and Amida. – A composite lemma based partly on *Socr* I,38. PD simplifies things by subsuming the conferring of power to Constantine's sons under one date, whereas *Socrates* writes that this took place three times, every 10th year of his reign for one of his three sons at a time. The East Syrian (Nestorian) chronographer Elias BarShinaya of Nisibis (AD 975 – after 1049) referring to *Socrates* gives in fact the dates 626, 636 & 646 respectively (I,99,3 f., 11 f., 22 f.). Information on the foundation of the cities Amida and Tella comes from *XEd* (4,17–21/32) *s.a.* 660 & 661, or *JacEd* 293/218, *s.a.* 21 & 25.

Lm 64[3 or 4] (170,2–171,2/126 f.) and 645 (171,3–13/127): machinations against Athanasius of Alexandria and the Council in Tyre. – A summary of *Socr* I,27–29. However the style of the lemma, especially that of its introduction, gives the impression that the lemma was edited by John of Ephesus. The text is unfortunately partly deleted but what remains (... *wa-mṭul d-lā zādeq d-a(y)k b-šetqā [nhappē]*: "... and since it is not just that [we should cover] with silence ...") is one of John's favourite phrases and can be found for instance in PD II 44,13; 67,14; 121,16. Also phrases on Satan making some people his tools, and on the wicked bishops who "should not be called bishops but rather slanderers ..." (171,10) remind one of John of Ephesus' fiery style. It is known that in his part III PD used John's *Church History*, part II,⁴⁰ and thus it is probable that this is the first attestation of John's part II, which, as we know from MS 121a/I,239, began with Constantine.

Lm 644 (171,14–16/127): Helen, the emperor's mother, builds (the church of) New Jerusalem. – *Socr* I,17. It is somewhat strange that PD does not include here the information on the finding of the Holy Cross given by *Socrates* in the same chapter. PD however seems to have divided up the material of this chapter and attributed it to different years: the story of the finding of the Cross has been put in PD I 157,1–158,27/117–119, i.e. *before* the material from *Socrates* is formally announced (see above). It is thus possible that PD has there used another source and on finding it again in *Socrates* omitted it.

Lm 646 (171,16–19/127): expulsion of Athanasius from Alexandria – *Socr* I,35.

⁴⁰ Witakowski, "Third Part", 268–270.

Synchronization point (171,20-172,11/127 f.): the year (44/5: Scl. = 28th year of Constantine = 5034 a.M. - Source unknown; it is not clear why PD puts a synchronization point in this place of his *Chronicle*, especially if the same year of Constantine was already synchronized with another year of the Seleucid era (cf. above, after the lemmata dated by Abraham's era, PD 159,20-27).

Lm 646 bis (172,12-173,22/128 f.): Arius accepted in the Church; Alexander of Constantinople's prayer that he should not have to confront him; Arius's death. - Socr I,37-38.

Lm 649 (173,22-174,1/129): the death of Constantine. - Summary of Socr I,39 & 40; 33 years as the duration of the emperor's reign must be PD's own (or a copyist's) error; Socr gives 31 years, JacEd 32 (288. *filum regnorum*/215).

The death of Jacob bishop of Nisibis⁴¹ (174,1 f./129). - XEd (4,13-15/32) under the same date.

Lm 650 (174,2-6/129): perturbations in the Church caused by Eusebius of Nicomedia; the return of Athanasius to Alexandria. - Socr II,2 & 3.

Lm 651 (174,6 f./129): the death of Eusebius of Caesarea. - Socr II,4.

Lm 652 (174,8-11/129): the death of Alexander of Constantinople; his successors. - Ultimately Socr II,6. PD writes however that two bishops were elected after him, whereas Socrates speaks of the rivalry of two parties each advocating its own candidate, Paul (advocated by the Orthodox) and Macedonius (by the Arians), of whom eventually only one, Paul, was elected. Thus a more probable source seems to be JacEd (290,10-13/216), who in fact writes about the choice of both of them. The preserved text of JacEd presents a "telescoped" account of two similar events: the rivalry of Paul and Macedonius for the see of Constantinople before *and* after the pontificate of Eusebius of Nicomedia (see the following lm and lm 655).

Lm 653 (174,11-13/129): Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, having been deposed, Eusebius of Nicomedia is transferred to the see of the capital. - Socr II,7. Here PD, notwithstanding what he has written in the

⁴¹ On Jacob of Nisibis see P. Pfeeters], "La légende de saint Jacques de Nisibis", *AnBoll* 38 (1920), 285-373; P. Krüger, "Jacob von Nisibis in syrischer und armenischer Überlieferung," *Le Muséon* 81 (1968), 161-179; J.-M. Fiey, *Nisibis: métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours* [CSCO 388, Subs. 1, 84] (Louvain, 1977), 21-26. His vita was written by Theodoret of Cyrrhus in his *Religious History*; see Théodoret de Cyr, *Histoire des moines de Syrie* "Histoire philostache", ed.

previous lemma, agrees with Socr against JacEd, according to whom Macedonius was also deposed (290,16/216).

Lm 654 (174,13-17/129): the synod in Antioch, the (second) expulsion of Athanasius of Alexandria. – Socr II,8.10.11.

Lm 655 (174,18-20/129): the death of Eusebius of Constantinople; Paul and Macedonius elected simultaneously. – Socr II,12 (cf. above lm 652).

Lm 657 (174,20-22/129): Abraham bishop of Edessa. – *XEd* (4,15-17/32).

Lm 660 (174,22-24/129): Constantine the Younger builds Amida and Tella (cf. above lm 642). – This corresponds to *XEd* (4,17-21/32, nos. 19 and 20, *s.a.* 660 Amida and 661 Tella), but may have come from JacEd who has the lemma on the construction of Amida exceptionally dated also by the Seleucid era, to the year 660 (293, left, 1-3/218). JacEd is the source of this lemma in Elias BarShinaya (I,101,5-7/49).

Lm 661 (174,24-27/129): the war between the sons of Constantine the Great. – Socr II,5.

Lm 662 (174,27-175,2/129 f.): Hermogenes killed by Constantinopolitans. – Socr II,13.

Lm 663 (175,3 f./130): Arians expel bishop Gregory from his see in Alexandria. – Socr II,14.

Lm 664 (175,5-8/130): forced imposition of Macedonius upon the see of the capital. – Socr II,16.

Lm 667 (175,9-11/130): the synod in Sardica; Athanasius and Paul restored to their sees in Alexandria and Constantinople. – Socr II,20.

Lm 668 (175,11-13/130): Maximus of Jerusalem in communion with Athanasius. – Socr II,24.

Ephrem *floruit* (175,13 f./130). – JacEd 293a,9 f./218.

Lm 670 (175,14-16/130): the rebellion of Vetranius and Magnentius. – Socr II,25.

Paul and Athanasius deposed again; Paul's death (175,16-22/130). – Socr II,26.

Macedonius in the capital (175,22-25/130). – Socr II,27.

George in Alexandria (175,25-176,4/130). – Socr II,28.

Photin's heresy (176,4-10/130 f.). – Socr II,29.

The synod in Seleucia of Isauria (176,10-13/131). – Socr II,39.

& tr. by P. Canivet & A. Leroy-Molinghen [Sources chrétiennes, 234] (Paris, 1977), l. 160-193. It was translated into Syriac in which version it circulated in an independent manuscript tradition; ed. by P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum syriace*, IV (Paris, 1894; repr. Hildesheim, 1968), 262-273.

Lm 671 (176,13-16/131): Magnentius defeated. - Soer II,32.

Lm 672 (176,16-24/131): the heretic Aetius and the synod in Milan. - Soer II,35-36.

The death of Abraham, bishop of Edessa (176,24-26/131). - XEd 4,22-27/32, nos. 23 and 25.

Lm 673 (176,26-177,1/131): "Macedonius (patriarch of Constantinople) was deposed, the holy Meletius came in his place, who a little later obtained the see of Antioch". - According to Soer (II,42-44) it was Eudoxius who had left the see of Antioch and became bishop of Constantinople, whereas Meletius was never elected to the see of the capital, but succeeded Eudoxius in Antioch. It is hardly possible however that such an error could be a result of confusion on the basis of Socrates' text. Rather PD here used another source (which in its turn was based on Socrates), such as JacEd (295,6-8/219) or the source of X846 (197,22-26/152), where the items of information on the two bishops (both Macedonius and Eudoxius were deposed but from different sees) stand close to each other; thus perhaps something like a little lacuna in a manuscript might have confused PD.

The death of Constantius (177,2-4/131). - Soer II,47.

The heresy of Apollinaris (177,4-14/131). - Soer II,46.

The heresy of the *pneumatomachoi* Macedonius and Eustathius (177,14-21/132). - Soer II,45.

Lm 674 (177,21-178,2/132): the persecution of the Christians launched by Julian the Apostate; Eusebius, bishop of Rome, a confessor. - Eusebius is not an historical figure; he comes from the *Romance of Julian*⁴² (45,1-59,8/50-65), an Edessene tract of religious propaganda, composed soon after Shapur II's death (379).⁴³ In Syriac historiography the *Romance* was regarded as a reliable historical source, as is also shown by the presence of Eusebius in the Syriac lists of the "archpriests" of Rome, such as that in MS (746, the scholion in the fifth column/III,429), on the authority of the (lost) *Chronicle* of John the Stylite of Litarba (died after 726).⁴⁴

⁴² For the edition and an Engl. transl. see Abbreviations; see also a recent study by H. J. W. Drijvers, "The Syriac Romance of Julian: its function, place of origin and original language", in *VI Symposium Syriacum 1992. University of Cambridge ... 1992*, ed. R. Lavenant [Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 247] (Rome, 1994), 201-216.

⁴³ Drijvers, op. cit., 215 f.

⁴⁴ The scholion reads: "After Silvester: John the Stylite says that between Silvester and Julius there was Eusebius who is mentioned in the Book of Jovian [Ywbynywys: = the *Romance*]; John says 'We have not found it in the list'."

Other martyrs and confessors (178,2-7/132): Maximus - the *Romance of Julian* (79,4-96,11/86-104); Theodore - Socr III,19; Elpidius and the monks killed by Samaritans - the *Romance* (118,25-121,15/128-131 & 100,24-101,13/109 f.).

Julian urges the Jews to rebuild the temple (178,7-179,5/132). - Socr III,20.

The ignominious death of Julian, the emperor's uncle (179,5-8/132 f.). - Sozomen V,8 or Theodoret III,8-9.⁴⁵ This story in an even fuller version is also present in MS (143b/1,285). MS in the list of his sources in the introduction (preserved only in the Armenian version) names Zosimos, under which name Sozomen should be understood. No Syriac translation of Sozomen's work is known. On the other hand Theodoret's work is known to exist in such a translation (excerpts only, not the complete work; so far unpublished),⁴⁶ which of course makes PD's dependence on it more probable for this lemma. The suggested origin of Im 615 above makes it however possible that a common source for the two was Theodore Anagnostes' *Historia Tripartita*.

Some time during Anastasius' reign (491-518) Theodore Anagnostes (Lat. Lector) compiled an account of church history, sometimes called *Historia Tripartita*, on the basis of all three church histories by the continuators of Eusebius, i.e. Socrates Scholasticus, Hermias Sozomen and Theodoret of Cyrillus.⁴⁷ Of this only the first two books (of four) are extant,⁴⁸ but at the beginning of the seventh century, most probably between 610 and 615, an epitome was made of it.⁴⁹ The *Tripartita* was known to MS, as he mentions Theodore Anagnostes in his introduction. This does not, of course, prove that a Syriac translation of the *Tripartita* was ever made, and since we do not have any other evidence of such a translation we may assume that MS knew it not directly but rather

⁴⁵ See Theodoret in Abbreviations.

⁴⁶ A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Litteratur mit Ausschluss der syrisch-palästinensischen Schrifttums* (Bonn, 1922), 107.

⁴⁷ It was the second part of a larger historiographical work, the first part of which was a simple copy of Eusebius's *Church History*, together with the supplement of Gelasius of Caesarea, and the third Theodore's own continuation of the *Tripartita* up to 518, followed by extracts from the Monophysite John Diakrinomenos's *Church History*; P. Nautin, "Théodore le Lecteur et sa 'Réunion de différentes histoires' de l'Église", *REB* 52 (1994), 213-243.

⁴⁸ They remain unpublished, but a summary of the contents is given by G. Ch. Hansen in TheodAn, 2-55.

⁴⁹ G. Ch. Hansen in TheodAn, XXXIX.

through the intermediary of the *Chronicle* of JacEd.⁵⁰ a renowned Syriac scholar with knowledge of Greek lore. The latter's work was used by PD⁵¹ who, not knowing Greek, took the material of the *Tripartita* most probably from Jacob's *Chronicle*.

Another possibility, which will be discussed later, would be that it was taken from the first part of John of Ephesus' *Church History*. Famous hierarchs (179,8-22/133). – Most probably the list of bishops to which we referred previously (see above, Im 639b).

Julian Saba *floruit* (179,22 f./133). – Most probably the *Original* XEd; cf. Im 679 below.⁵²

Lm 674 (179,23-180,8/133 f.): Julian's campaign in Persia, his death and Jovian's accession. – Source unknown, or Socr III,21, but summarized to the point of being unrecognizable (MS 145 f.a/1,281 f. has a full account taken from Socrates). In any case PD must have had some additional source for some details (for example, on the people of Nisibis moving to Amida, after Jovian had ceded their city to the Persians). These occur in Malalas, whose material PD knew through the intermediary of John of Ephesus.⁵³ This is somewhat surprising since it would mean that PD used John of Ephesus already when compiling his part II, based mainly on Socrates.

Lm 675 (180,9-12/134): councils in Antioch and Gangra. – An unknown source, which in its turn may have used Socr III,25 for the council in Antioch; it must have been some sort of list of councils, different however from that in MS 133c/1,265.

The death of Jovian and the accession of Valens and Valentinus (180,12-18/134). – Socr IV,1-2.

The rebellion of Procopius in Constantinople and an earthquake (180,18-20/134). – Socr IV,3.

Lm 676 (180,20-25/134): the change of the coastline as a result of an earthquake. – Socr, *ibid.*; PD misunderstood Socrates and treated both phenomena as separate, ascribing a new date to the changes of the coast-

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, XXXV.

⁵¹ As the present writer attempted to prove for PD's part three, Witkowski, "Third part", *passim*.

⁵² Julian Saba, the famous anchorite of Syria, is known from Theodoret of Cyrillus' *Religious History*; ed. & tr. by P. Cantvet & A. Leroy-Molinghen, (above, note 44), I, 193-245. Also Julian's *vita*, like that of Jacob of Nisibis, was translated into Syriac (ed. by P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum syriace*, VI [Paris, 1896; repr. Hildesheim 1968], 380-404), a fragment of which can also be found in X846, 201.17-202.8/155.

⁵³ Witkowski, "Malalas", 299-310.

tal area. Neither PD nor his source mentions where exactly the cataclysms took place, except for a vague "many cities". It is known however from other sources to have occurred on 21 July 365 (i.e. PD's date is incidentally correct) and hit most of the East-Mediterranean regions, especially Alexandria.⁵⁴

Lm 679 [to be corrected to 677 (?), cf. the dates of the two subsequent lemmas] (180,25–181,1/134): the death of Procopius and the destruction of the walls of Chalcedon. – Socr IV,5.8.

Lm 678 (181,2–6/134 f.): Valens expels anti-Arian bishops and builds an aqueduct. – Socr IV,11.8.9.

Lm 679 (181,7–11/135): an earthquake in Bithynia and the Hellespont. – Socr IV,11.

The death of Julian Saba (181,11 f./135). – *XEd* 5,2 f./5, s.a. 678; the presence of this lemma in *XEd* suggests that the origin of the previous lemma on Julian Saba (above 179,22 f./133) is to be sought in the *Original XEd*. The date in *X846* is the same as in *XEd*, i.e. one year earlier than in PD.

Famous hierarchs (181,12–17/135). – The list of bishops (cf. above, lm 674e).

The heresy of Eunomius (181,17–23/135). – Socr IV,7.

The persecution of the Orthodox (homousians) by the Arians and the famine in Phrygia (181,23–182,13/135 f.). – Socr IV,15 & 16.

Lm 680 (182,14–17/136): the death of Athanasius of Alexandria. – Socr IV,20.

Lm 681 (182,17–20/136): the death of Peter of Alexandria and of two Egyptian monks due to their being persecuted. – Socr IV,21–22.

Famous monks (182,20–26/136). – Socr IV,23 & 24.

The construction of the baptistry in Edessa (182,26 f./136). – *XEd* 5,4–6/5.

Damasus and John, patriarchs of Rome and Jerusalem (182,27–183,2/136). – The list of bishops.

Lm 683 (183,2–5/136): the death of Valentinian (I) and the accession of Valentinian (II). – Socr IV,31.

Lm 684 (183,5–7/136): the death of Ephrem. – *XEd* 5,6–8/5.

Lm 686 (183,7 f./136): the attack of the Goths. – *JacEd* s.a. 53. Since Jacob's own era starts (year 1) in 637 Sel., the date of this lemma would be 689 Sel. The lemmata of the *spatium historicum* of *JacEd*, who follows the tabellary form of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, were added on

⁵⁴ G. Downey, "Earthquakes at Constantinople and vicinity, A.D. 342–1454", *Speculum* 30 (1955), 597.

either side of the column of the *fila regnorum*. If a lemma to be written in was somewhat longer than the space provided for it, the lemma for the following year could not be written in its right place but had to be moved down. Therefore the readers or excerptors of JacEd could easily take such a misplaced lemma to belong to another year than that for which it was intended.

Lm 687 (183,8-184,16/136 f.): Mavia the queen of the Arabs and the Arab-Roman war. - Socr IV,36.⁵⁵

Lm 688 (184,17-20/137): the expulsion of Lucius from Alexandria; Peter returns. - Socr IV,37.

Lm 689 (184,21-25/137): the emperor Valens killed by the barbarians; Gratian's accession. - Socr IV,38.

The return of the Orthodox bishops (184,26-185,2/137). - Socr IV,37, the title; for the bishops of Edessa, *XEd* 5,12-17/5 f.

Lm 690 (185,2-7/137): the defence of Constantinople against the attack of the Goths. - Socr V,1.

Lm 692 (185,7-9/137): the defeat of the barbarians by Theodosius the king (more correctly: Gratian's caesar). - Socr V,2.

Lm 693 (185,10-186,7/138): the Council of Constantinople. - Socr V,8.

Lm 694 (186,8-11/138): the death of Meletius, patriarch of Antioch, and the bringing of the bones of the apostle Paul to the capital. - Socr V,9; Socrates tells about the body of Paul, bishop of Constantinople 337-351, exiled and killed during the Arian controversy; Paul 'the Apostle' must be PD's fault.

Lm 695 (186,12 f./138): the foundation of Resh'ayna. - *XEd* 5,17 f./6, s.a. 692.

Lm 696 (186,13 f./138): Arcadius co-regent with his father Theodosius. - Socr V,12.

Lm 697 (186,15 f./138): the death of Timothy of Alexandria. Theophilus, the new patriarch. - Socr V,12.

The revolt of Maximus (186,16-18/138). - Socr V,11.

Lm 698 (186,18-20/138): Theodosius' victory over Maximus. - Socr V,14.

Eulogius' death and Cyrus, the new bishop of Edessa, has the relics of St Thomas brought to the city (186,20-23/138 f.). - *XEd* 5,21-26/6.

⁵⁵ On Mavia see I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1984), 138-202.

s.a. 698 & 705, i.e. PD combined two lemmata of his source (with different dates) into one.⁵⁶

Lm 699 (186,23-26/139): the destruction of the pagan temples in Alexandria. – Socr V,16.

Evagrius and Flavian, the two patriarchs in Antioch (186,26 f./139). – Socr V,15.

Lm 700 (186,28-187,2/139): the union of the Novatianist church with the Orthodox and the abolition of the office of penitentiary presbyters. – Socr V,19.

Lm 701 (187,2 f./139): the controversy concerning the date of Easter. – Socr V,21-22; Socrates writes only about the controversy among the Novatianists (V,21) but he has devoted another chapter (V,22) to the traditional differences between various churches as to the time of the Easter. Since this concerns not only the Novatianists, PD may have misunderstood Socrates' considerations and taken them as an expression of the dissent in the whole Church.

Lm 702 (187,3 f./139): Honorius' accession. – Socr V,25.

Lm 703 (187,4 f./139): the revolt of Eugenius. – Socr, *ibid.*

Lm 704 (187,5-7/139): Valentinian killed by Eugenius. – Socr, *ibid.*

Lm 705 (187,7-16/139): Theodosius' victory over the usurper. – Socr, *ibid.*

Lm 706 (187,16 f./139): the death of Theodosius. – Socr V,26 & VI,1.

The invasion of Huns and the enslavement of the people of Zlat (187,17-188,15/139 f.). – Source unknown.

The killing of the prefect Rufinus (188,15-17/140). – Socr VI,1.

Lm 707 (188,18-24/140): John (Chrysostom) becomes patriarch of Constantinople. – Socr VI,2-3.

Lm 708 (188,24-26/140): new bishops of Mopsuestia and Seleucia. – Socr VI,3.

Absamia *floruit* (188,26-189,2/140). – *XEd* 6,13-16/6, s.a. 715.

Lm 709 (189,2-14/141): the controversy in Alexandria concerning the question whether God has human body. – Socr VI,7.

Lm 710 (189,14 f./141): Severian of Gabala and Antioch of Acco. – Socr VI,11.

⁵⁶ On the translation of the relics, see U. Monneret de Villard, "La fiera di Batnae e la traslazione di S. Tomaso a Edessa", *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 8:6 (1951), 88 f.; G. Sorge, "Le traslazioni delle reliquie dell'Apostolo Tommaso", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 2 (1982), 152 f.

Lm 711 (189,15-17/141): Epiphanius of Cyprus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. - For Epiphanius Soer VI,10, but for Theodore of unknown. It may have been JacEd, but the relevant part of his *Chronicle* is not preserved. In any case it must have been the same source (possibly the *Original XEd*) which was used also by X846, since the lemma features there (207,27-29/159) under the same date.

Lm 717 (189,18-23/141): the deposition of John, patriarch of Constantinople. - Soer VI,15; 708-712. The death of the empress Eudoxia. - Soer VI,19; 724.

The great hailstorm and the death of Cyrinus (189,23-190,6/141). - Soer VI,19.

Arsacius the new bishop of Constantinople (190,6 f./141). - Soer VI,19.

Lm 718 (190,8 f./141): the death of Arsacius. - Soer VI,20.

Lm 720 (190,10-14/141 f.): the death of Arcadius. - Soer VI,23.

Lm 721 (190,14-16/142): Cyrillus the new patriarch in Alexandria. - Soer VII,7, or *XEd* 6,20 f./7.

Lm 722 (190,16-18/142): Diogenes bishop of Edessa. - *XEd* 6,16-18/6, s.a. 720.

The Macedonians (of Synnada) unite with the Orthodox (190,18-21/142). - Soer VII,3.

Lm 723 (190,21-24/142): Rabbula bishop of Edessa. - *XEd* 6,21-25/7.

Lm 724 (190,24-191,14/142 f.): the flood in Edessa. - The so-called *Primaeval XEd*.⁵⁷

The healing of a paralytic Jew (191,14-192,3/143). - Soer VII,4.

The perturbations caused by Sabbatios (192,3-8/143). - Soer VII,5 & V,26.

Lm 725 (192,8-11/143): Maruthas *floruit*. - Soer VII,8.

The Persian synod in Ctesiphon (192,12-15/143). - Source unknown.

Famous hierarchs (192,16-23/143). - A list of bishops of Antioch and Rome, and/or Soer VII,9.11; Rabbula of Edessa - see Lm 723. above; Acacius of Amida - Soer VII,21; Acacius of Samosata - source unknown. The latter is otherwise unknown, perhaps Acacius of Beroea (Sozomen VII,28) is meant.

Lm 728 (192,23-25/143): the devastation of Rome by Alaric. - Soer VII,10.

⁵⁷ See W. Witakowski, "Chronicles of Edessa", *OrSucc* 33-35 (1984-86), 496.

Lm 729 (192,25–193,2/143): Theodosius' victory over Alarie (this information is not true). – Source unknown.

Mar Isaac of Amida *floruit*⁵⁸ (193,2–5/143 f.). – Source unknown, possibly the *Original XEd*.

Lm 730 (193,5–8/144): the revolt of the Jews in Alexandria. – Socr VII,13.

Lm 731 (193,8–10/144): the heresy of Eutyches. – 6,28 f./7, s.a. 732.

Lm 732 (193,10–12/144): the persecution of Christians in Persia. – Probably Socr VII,18.

Lm 734 (193,12–14/144): the martyrdom of St James of Beth Lapat (*Iacobus Intercisus*).⁵⁹ – The lemma corresponds to *XEd* 6,29 f./7, s.a. 732; X846 210,1 f./160, s.a. 733, but PD provides more information than *XEd* (for example, that James came from Beth Lapat), and thus the *Original XEd* is the most probable source.

Lm 735 (193,14–23/144): the war with Persia; (a) the Romans lay waste the Persian province Azazene; (b) Acacius bishop of Amida redeems the Persian captives; (c) the defeat of the Persians. – Socr VII, (a) 18; (b) 21; (c) 18.

Lm 736 (193,23–195,9/144 f.): renewal of the war with Persia. – Socr VII,18.

The second part of the *Story of the Eight Youths of Ephesus* (195,10–206,20/145–154). – The first part of this story, otherwise known as the *Legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus* (*Siebenschläfer, Sept Dormants*), was placed in PD I 135,1–143,21/101–107, i.e. in the first part of PD's *Chronicle* (according to our division). It was related there that the youths were pressed by the emperor Decius (AD 249–251) to offer to pagan gods but refused to do so. When he gave them time to change their mind, they hid in a cave near the city and fell asleep. Decius gave orders for the cave to be bricked up so that they should be buried. Here, in the second part of the legend, placed according to the alleged chronology of the events in the time of the emperor Theodosius II (AD 408–450), the cave is opened by masons looking for building material. The young men are awakened by God and the people of the city realize that a

⁵⁸ On Isaac of Amid, see R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque* (Paris, 1907), 338.

⁵⁹ See *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum syriace*, II, ed. P. Bedjan (Paris, 1891; repr. Hildesheim 1968), 539–558; for other oriental versions see *BHO*, 91 f.; P. Devos, "Le dossier hagiographique de S. Jacques l'Intercis", *AnBoll* 71 (1953), 157–210; 72 (1954), 213–229.

Ephesus connected to the local sanctuary in honour of the holy youths etc.) which knows nothing of their being eight.⁶⁴

Lm 737 (206,21–208,10/154 f.): Helion makes peace with the Persians. – Socr VII,20; this chapter of Socrates is not shortened as most of those preceding and following, but copied in full.

Lm 739 (208,10–12/155): Sisinnius the new patriarch of Constantinople. – Socr VII,26.

Lm 741 (208,12–14/155): Nestorius his follower. – Socr VII,29.

Lm 743 (208,14–209,19/155–157): the heresy of Nestorius. – Socr VII,34 & 32.

Peter the Iberian's testimony on Nestorius (209,19–210,20/157). – The *Plerophoria* 1; 11–12 end, by John Rufus, bishop of Maiouma,⁶⁵ written in Greek during Severus of Antioch's episcopate, i.e. 512–518, and later translated into Syriac. This is a piece of Monophysite propaganda launched against the Council of Chalcedon and its followers.⁶⁶ PD had to hand another version of the *Pler* than that published by F. Nau, the main difference being the presence in PD of titles for each chapter copied. It is possible, as F. Nau and A. D'yakonov believed,⁶⁷ that the work was copied first by John of Ephesus and then taken over by PD, together with the material of John of Ephesus' *Church History*. However, as the presence of the *Chronicle* of Joshua the Stylite in PD proves, PD was perfectly able to copy his secondary sources independently of the main ones (to which John's work belongs). On the other hand copying long fragments or whole sources was not John's method. MS has the *Plerophoria*, copied in full too, but here they are not chronicalized, i.e. not divided into date lemmas.

Lm 744 (210,20–211,6/157): the council in Ephesus. – A list of synods, different from that in X724 (152,12–21/117).

Lm 746 (211,7–9/157): Ibas the new bishop in Edessa. – XEd 7,7–10/7.

BarSauma and Simeon the Stylite (211,10 f./157). – Source unknown; possibly JacEd, but no lemmata in his chronicle are preserved for the period in question.

⁶⁴ E. Honigmann, op. cit. 136.

⁶⁵ See *Pler* in Abbreviations; see also F. Nau, "Les Plérôphories de Jean, évêque de Maiouma", *ROC* 3 (1898), 232–259, 337–392.

⁶⁶ Cf. W. Witakowski, "Syrian Monophysite Propaganda in the Fifth to Seventh Centuries", in *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium: papers read at a colloquium ... in Istanbul*, ed. L. Rydén & J. O. Rosenqvist [Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul. Transactions, 4] (Stockholm, 1993), 62–64.

⁶⁷ Nau in *Pler*, 7; D'yakonov, *Ioann Yefesskiy* (above, note 5), 263.

pseudo-Moses among the Jews of Crete (211,11-212,24/157 f.). - Socr VII,38.

Lm 747 (212,24-213,1/158): Proclus has the bones of John Chrysostom brought to Constantinople. - Socr VII,40 & 45.

John the usurper in Italy and the destruction of his barbarian allies (213,1-15/158 f.). - Socr VII,23 & 43. This seems to be PD's last entry derived from Socrates' *Church History*.

Lm 755 (213,15-17/159): the death of Cyril of Alexandria.⁶⁴ - Source unknown; possibly the list of bishops often referred to, but as the information on Cyril is not accompanied by that on other hierarchs it may come from the *Original XEd*, to judge from the presence of the next lemma in the extant *XEd*.

Lm 756 (213,17 f./159): Dioscorus the new patriarch of Alexandria. - *XEd* 7,17 f./7.

Lm 757 (213,19-214,2/159): the second council of Ephesus. - Source unknown; most probably the same list of synods which was the source of lm 744.

The prophecy of Pelagius concerning Ibas (214,2-215,7/159 f.). - *Pler* 2; 13,1-14,5.

The prophecy of Pelagius concerning the empress Pulcheria (215,7-24/160). - *Pler* 3; 14,6-15,3.

Pelagius on Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem (215,24-216,12/160 f.). - *Pler* 4; 15,4-16,2.

The prophecy of Helladius of Kellia on the persecutions under Marcian (216,13-217,28/161 f.). - *Pler* 7; 18,6-20,6.

Abba Zeno on the Council and the persecutions (217,28-218,13/162). - *Pler* 8; 20,7-21,5.

An ascetic from Pamphylia on the Council (218,14-26/162). - *Pler* 9; 21,12-22,5.

Abba Paul on Marcian (218,26-219,8/163). - *Pler* 12 (a fragment); 28,3-9.

Abba Andreas on the Council (219,8-220,13/163). - *Pler* 14; 30,2-31,10.

Hierarchs in Constantinople, Antioch and Edessa (220,13-15/164). - The list of bishops; for Edessa *XEd* 7,23-27/7.

The second council in Ephesus (220,15-18/164). - The list of synods (see above, lm 636).

⁶⁴ According to Haase, "Untersuchungen" (above, note 4), 80, here begins PD part 3, as the chronicler would have it himself.

Lm 758 (220,18–221,7/164): the darkening of the sky at the moment when the Council gathered. – *Pler* 10; 22,11–23,9.

Lm 759 (221,7–16/164): the burning of the cross in the church of the Ascension in Jerusalem. – *Pler* 11; 27,3–9.

Lm 762 (221,16–23/164 f.): the death of the emperor Theodosius. – This information could have been taken from any source, for example, Ps.-Zachariah I, 143,10–144,6/38.⁶⁹ It may be from here that PD begins to use John of Ephesus' *Church History*.

The darkness on the day of the coronation of Marcian (221,24–223,6/165 f.). – *Pler* 10 (another fragment, cf. lm 758); 25,3–27,2.

Pulcheria and Marcian (223,7–16/166). – A repetition of the prophecy of Pelagius, *Pler* 3, see above, PD 215,24–216,12.

The beginning of evils in the Church (= the background of the Council of Chalcedon as seen with Monophysite eyes) (223,16–224,15/166). – Source unknown, probably some sort of polemic writing against the Council of Chalcedon, which may have been part of an anti-Chalcedonian dossier, such as that identified by A. de Halleux.⁷⁰

Lm 764 (224,15–225,2/167): the Council of Chalcedon. – The list of synods.⁷¹

The appearance of Satan in Chalcedon before the gathering of the Council (225,2–13/167). – Source unknown, most probably the same anti-Chalcedonian writing as in PD 223,16–224,15.

Famous bishops and monks (225,13–22/167 f.). – The list of bishops; for the monks the source is unknown.

The Letter of the Jews to Marcian (225,22–226,19/168). – The anti-Chalcedonian dossier referred to above.⁷²

Lm 766 (226,20–22/168): an earthquake in Tripolis. – The *Chronicle*

⁶⁹ See Abbreviations.

⁷⁰ A. de Halleux, "Un fragment philoxénien inédit de polémique anti-chalcédonienne", in *Von Kanaan bis Kerala: Festschrift für J. P. M. van der Ploeg ...*, hrsg. v. W. C. Delsman (Kevelaer, 1982), 431 f. It is impossible to say what may be the relationship of this lemma of PD to item 2 of de Halleux's dossier, which is a tract on the council.

⁷¹ For the Syrian accounts of this council, see P. Mouterde, "Le Concile de Chalcédoine d'après les historiens monophysites de langue syriaque", in *Das Konzil von Chalcedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, I, hrsg. v. A. Grillmeier & H. Bacht (Würzburg, 1951), 581–602.

⁷² Item 3 in De Halleux's dossier (above, note 70); see also L. Van Rompay, "A Letter of the Jews to the Emperor Marcian Concerning the Council of Chalcedon", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 12 (1981), 215–224.

- of John Malalas⁷³ 14:29; 367/201. The Malalas material is known to PD through the intermediary of John of Ephesus.⁷⁴
- Lm 768 (226,22-24/168/168): the death of Marcian, the accession of Leo. - Mal 14:35; 369/202.
- Lm 769 (226,24-227,1/168): Nonnus' building works in Edessa. - XEd 8,1-8/7 f.
- Lm 770 (227,1-5/168 f.): an earthquake in Antioch. - Mal 14:36; 369/202.
- Lm 771 (227,5-14/169): the death of Simeon the Stylite. - XEd 8,8-11/8 for the date, but Mal 14:37 for the story of the bringing of his body to Antioch.
- Lm 776 (227,14-20/169): Leo forbids work on Sundays. - Mal 14:39.
- Lm 777 (227,20 f./169): Leo builds Callinicus. - XEd 8,11-14/8.
- Lm 782 (227,21-23/169): Cyrus the new bishop in Edessa. - XEd 8,14-16/8.
- Lm 783 (227,23-27/169): Leo persecutes the Arians. - Mal 14:41.
- Lm 784 (227,27-228,12/169 f.): ashes fall from the sky. - Mal 14:42 (the original Malalas).⁷⁵
- Lm 785 (228,12-20/170): a great fire in the capital. - Mal 14:43; 372/206.
- Lm 786 (228,20-22/170): Leo makes his grandson, the boy Leo co-emperor. - Mal 14:46; 375 f./208.⁷⁶
- Lm 788 (228,22-24/170): the young boy Leo becomes emperor. - Mal 14:47; 376/208.
- Lm 789 (228,24-229,6/170): the boy Leo crowns his father Zeno. - Mal, *ibid.*
- Lm 790 (229,6-9/170): the rebellion of Basiliscus. - Mal 15:3; 378/209.
- Lm 791 (229,9-12/170): an earthquake in Gabala in Syria. - Mal 15:4; *ibid.*
- Lm 792 (229,12-21/170): Zeno returns to the capital. - Mal 15:5; 378 f./210.
- Lm 794 (229,21-230,8/171): Zeno exiles Peter the patriarch of Antioch. - Mal 15:6; 380/211.

⁷³ See Mal in Abbreviations.

⁷⁴ Witakowski, "Malalas".

⁷⁵ John of Ephesus, from whose *Church History* Malalas's material reached PD, had access to the original, more extensive text of Malalas' *Chronicle*.

⁷⁶ On Lm 786, 788 and 789, see Witakowski, "Malalas", 307-309.

Lm 796 (230,8-28/171): the promulgation of the *Henoticon*. - This seems to be a sort of preamble to the actual document; the style of the lemma points to John of Ephesus, whose authorship would be in accordance with the source of the next lemma.

The *Henoticon* (230,29-234,22/171-174): "A copy of the book *Henoticon* which the emperor Zeno composed concerning the unity of the Church". - This is the compromise formula of faith by which the emperor Zeno hoped to bring back the Monophysites to the unity of the Church. Although addressed to the bishops of the patriarchate of Alexandria, it was meant for the whole of Christendom, but especially for the bishops of Syria where the Monophysite movement was gathering momentum.⁷⁷ Thus it must have been translated into Syriac very soon after its promulgation in 482.

PD most probably took it from the *Church History* of John of Ephesus (part II, now lost), as may be inferred from the fact that Michael the Syrian too has it in the section for which he used John of Ephesus' work as a source.⁷⁸ If our conclusion (in the previous study) be accepted that John of Ephesus was dependent on Ps.-Zachariah (as seen in the material of PD's *Chronicle*, part 3), we may infer that John copied the *Henoticon* from the same source.⁷⁹

"The Book of history of the time of trouble which befell Edessa, Amida and the whole of Mesopotamia" (235,1-317,25/174-233), i.e. the *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite. This is a separate historiographic work covering the events of the years 806-818 Sel., and dealing mainly with the Roman-Persian war AD 502-506, and its background 495-502. Although we are not able to compare it with any other text witness, since Ps.-Joshua's *Chronicle* is known only from PD, the coherence of the contents of this source, the uninterrupted month-by-month narrative, as well as the fact that its introduction with the author's dedication etc. is preserved, suggests that it was copied by PD in full.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ On the vicissitudes of the *Henoticon* in church politics see: W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge, 1972), 143-183, and 360-362 for an English transl. of the *Henoticon* on the basis of the Greek text in Evagrius' *Church History*, III,14.

⁷⁸ MS, bk 9, chapter 6, 253c,1-256,10/149-153.

⁷⁹ In Ps.-Zachariah: I,227,9-231,10.

⁸⁰ An early edition together with an English translation: W. Wright (ed. & tr.), *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite composed in Syriac A.D. 507, with a translation into English and notes* (Cambridge 1882; repr. Amsterdam 1968). Whether Joshua the Stylite of the monastery of Zuqman was the original scribe (more probably) or the author (less probably) of the *Chronicle* depends on the understanding of the word *knab* -

Let us bring together some conclusions from the material reviewed. As could be expected, for the part treated here PD used a variety of sources, among which the main one is the *Church History* of Socrates Scholasticus. PD must have had access to the complete Syriac translation of the work, since material taken over by him also comes from the chapters (for example, Socr II, 2-5, 7 f., 10 f., 13 f., 16, 20, 24-29, etc.) which are not extant in the excerpts in the Vatican manuscript.

The material from Socr is supplemented with lemmata taken from the *Original XEd*, which has not been preserved in an independent manuscript tradition, and of which the extant *XEd* is an abbreviation. Also a few lemmata come from the *Primaeval XEd*, another lost Edessene chronicle which has left some traces in Syriac historiography (accounts of floods).

Still another source of the short lemma type in PD is the *Chronicle* of Jacob of Edessa. Also in this case PD had access to a fuller, or at least a better preserved form of it, than that known to us today.

More difficult to explain is the presence in PD of the material from Sozomen's *Church History*, which does not seem ever to have been translated into Syriac. We have suggested that this material could have reached Syriac historiography through the intermediary of the *Historia Tripartita* of Theodore Anagnostes, mentioned by Michael the Syrian (12th century), but probably used already by Jacob of Edessa (7th-8th century), whose *Chronicle* in its turn was used by PD. It is however difficult to prove, as this intermediary link has come to us in such a poor state of preservation.

There is still another way in which the material in question may have found its way into PD, namely via the second part of John of Ephesus' *Church History*. On the basis of PD's presentation of his (main) sources, quoted at the beginning of this paper, it should be understood that the *Church History* of John of Ephesus began to be excerpted when the material from Socrates had come to an end (with Im 747b). In reality however this may not have been the case. If our supposition on Im 64[3 or 644], inserted in the Socratean part of PD but coming from John of Ephesus, is correct, then also lemmata from the *Tripartita*, ultimately

"wrote (= copied)" or "wrote (= composed)" —, in a scribal note on fol. 66^v. For an attempt at identifying the author see A. Palmer, "Who wrote the *Chronicle* of Joshua the Stylite?", in *Lingua restructa Orientalis: Festschrift J. Asfalg* [Ägypten und Altes Testament, 20] (Wiesbaden, 1990), 272-284.

based on the three continuators of Eusebius, may have reached PD with John as intermediary. Again this is of course difficult to prove, since the relevant part of John's *History* has not been preserved in an independent manuscript tradition.

On the other hand we know that material from Malalas' *Chronography* found its way into PD via John of Ephesus. This is inserted, in accordance with PD's statement of his sources, after Socrates' material has come to an end. Yet the testimony of Im 674 shows material from Malalas already in the part for which Socrates was used, and this corroborates our hypothesis on PD's use of John's work already for that part.

In view of the fact that there are no traces of a Syriac translation of the *Tripartita*, it has to be admitted that its material entered Syriac historiographical tradition through one of the historians who knew Greek and had access to a library containing works of Greek historiography. Both Jacob of Edessa, known for his Greek scholarship, and John of Ephesus, who lived in Constantinople, are possible candidates for the rôle. In his recent study on the latter, Jan van Ginkel, bringing forward more comparative material, argues convincingly that the second part of John of Ephesus' *Church History* was used by PD for the section covered by Socrates.⁸¹ These two ways, we may add, are not mutually exclusive.

Between the more easily recognizable material from Socrates and that from Malalas PD inserted material from yet another source, the *Plerophoria* of John Rufus of Maiouma (lemmata 743-762 Sel.). Unlike Pseudo-Joshua's *Chronicle*, the last source of PD's part 2, which is not known but from PD, we do possess other text witnesses of the *Plerophoria*, both in a separate manuscript tradition and as copied by Michael the Syrian in his *Chronicle*. This comparative material provides us with a convincing argument concerning PD's method of chronicle writing. Elsewhere we have called it "chronicalization", a term by which we mean transforming a narrative text, not even necessarily of historiographic character, into annalistic lemmata, each provided with a date. This is what PD did with John Rufus' work. Many of the *Plerophoria* have separate dates which, as they are missing in the other text witnesses, must be an invention of PD.

The same procedure PD also applied to his main source, Socrates' *Church History*. Only few dates were provided by the latter, whereas the

⁸¹ J. J. van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus: a Monophysite historian in the sixth-century Byzantium* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Groningen, 1995), 49-54. This important book appeared too late to be used in the present study.

historiographic pattern PD followed in writing his *Chronicle* required annalistically arranged material. Thus if the source our historian was about to excerpt did not have that arrangement, he took care to reorganize it and add the dates, invented by himself whenever necessary.

ABBREVIATIONS

BarHebraeus = *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l-Faraj 1225-1286 ... known as Bar Hebraeus ...*, I: English Transl.; II: Syriac Texts, [ed. & tr. by] E. A. W. Budge (London, 1932; repr. Amsterdam, 1976).

Chr. min. = *Chronica minora*, ed. I. Guidi, E. W. Brooks, J.-B. Chabot [CSCO, SS 3:4] (Paris, 1903-05) (textus), 1903-07 (versio).

Elias BarShinaya = *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni Opus chronologicum*, I, ed. (& tr.) E. W. Brooks [CSCO, SS 3:7] (Paris, 1910).

JacEd = Jacob of Edessa: "Chronicon Iacobi Edesseni", ed. (& tr.) E. W. Brooks, in *Chr. min.*, pp. 261-330, tr. pp. 197-258.

lm = date lemma for the year ...

Mal = Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831); English tr.: *The Chronicle of John Malalas: a transl. by E. Jeffreys et al.* [Byzantina Australiensia, 4] (Melbourne, 1986).

MS = Michael the Syrian: *Chronique de Michel le Syrien patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, éd. et trad. en français par J.-B. Chabot, I-IV (Paris, 1899-1924).

PD I = *Chronicon anonymum Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, I, ed. J.-B. Chabot [CSCO, SS 3:1, Textus] (Paris, 1927); Latin tr.: *Incerri auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, I, interpretatus est J.-B. Chabot [CSCO 121, SS 3:1, Versio] (Louvain, 1949).

PD II = *Chronicon anonymum Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, II, ed. J.-B. Chabot [CSCO, SS 3:2, Textus] (Paris, 1933); French tr. by R. Hespel [CSCO 507, SS 213] (Louvain, 1989).

Pler = Jean Rufus, Évêque de Maïouma, *Plérôphories: témoignages et révélations contre le concile de Chalcédoine*: version syriaque et trad. française, éd. par F. Nau, PO 8:1 (=36), 1911 (=1982).

Ps.-Zachariah = *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, I, I II, ed. E. W. Brooks [CSCO, SS 3:5-6, Textus] (Paris, 1919-21), interpretatus est E. W. Brooks (Louvain, 1924; Engl. tr.: *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah* of Mitylene, tr. by F. J. Hamilton & E. W. Brooks (London, 1899).

Romance of Julian = *Julianos der Abtrünnige: Syrische Erzählungen*, hrsg. v. J. G. E. Hoffmann (Leiden, 1880); *Julian the Apostate*, tr. by H. Gollancz (Oxford, 1928).

s.a. = sub anno.

SLNPNF = *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, transl. into English with prolegomena and explanatory notes, ed. P. Schaff & H. Wace.

- Socr = Socrates Scholasticus: M. Hussey (ed.), *Socrates Scholasticus, Ecclesiastical History* (Oxford, 1853; repr. Hildesheim, 1992); the new edition: Sokrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, hrsg. v. G. Ch. Hansen [GCS, NF 1] (Berlin, 1995), appeared after the present article was practically finished and could be used only to a limited degree; Engl. tr.: *The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates Scholasticus*, rev. with notes by A. C. Zenos [SLNPNF, II:2] (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1979; repr.), 1-178; Polish tr.: Sokrates Scholastyk, *Historia Kościoła*, tr. S. Kazikowski (Warsaw, 1972).
- Sozomen = Sozomenus, *Kirchengeschichte*, hrsg. v. J. Bidez & G. Ch. Hansen [GCS, 50] (Berlin, 1960); Engl. tr.: *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen*, revised by C. D. Hartranft [SLNPNF, II:2] (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1979; repr.), 179-427.
- SS = (CSCO) *Scriptores Syri*.
- TheodAn = Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, hrsg. v. G. Ch. Hansen [GCS] (Berlin, 1971).
- Theodoret = Theodoret, *Kirchengeschichte*, hrsg. v. L. Parmentier, 2. Aufl. bearb. v. F. Scheidweiler [GCS, 44] (Berlin, 1954); Engl. tr.: *The Ecclesiastical History, Dialogues and Letters of Theodoret*, tr. with notes by B. Jackson [SLNPNF, II:3] (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1989; repr.), 33-159.
- Witakowski, "Malalas" = W. Witakowski, "Malalas in Syriac", in *Studies in John Malalas*, ed. E. Jeffreys et al. [Byzantina Australiensia, 6] (Sydney, 1990), 299-310.
- Witakowski, *Syriac Chronicle* = W. Witakowski, *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē: a study in the history of historiography* [Studia Semitica Upsalienisia, 9] (Uppsala, 1987).
- Witakowski, "Third part" = W. Witakowski, "Sources of Pseudo-Dionysius for the third part of his Chronicle", *OrSuec* 40 (1991), 252-275.
- X = a chronicle (from: *Χρονικόν*).
- XEd = "Chronicon Edessenum", ed. I. Guidi, in *Chr. min.*, 1-13, versio 1-11; Engl. tr.: "The Chronicle of Edessa", [tr.] B. H. C[owper], *The Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record*, new [= 4th] ser., 5:9 (1864), 28-45.
- X724 = "Chronicon miscellaneum ad annum Domini 724 pertinens", ed. E. W. Brooks, tr. I.-B. Chabot, in *Chr. min.*, 77-155 (textus), 61-119 (versio).
- X819 = "Chronicon anonymum ad A.D. 819 pertinens", curante Aphram Barsaüm, co-edited with X1234, t. I (1920), 1-24 (textus), 1-16 (versio).
- X846 = "Chronicon ad annum Domini 846 pertinens", ed. E. W. Brooks; tr. (Latin) I.-B. Chabot, in *Chr. min.*, 157-238 (textus), 121-180 (versio).
- X1234 = (Chronicle to the year 1234): *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, ed. J.-B. Chabot [CSCO, SS 3:14 & 15] (Paris, t. I: 1920, t. II: 1916); tr.: t. I: (Latin) I.-B. Chabot, 1937 [CSCO, SS 3:14, Versio]; t. II: (French) A. Abouma [CSCO 354, SS 154] (Louvain, 1974).

MAMAS: A CAPPADOCIAN SAINT IN ETHIOPIAN TRADITION

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1. THE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Among the many Eastern and Western saints who entered the Ethiopian tradition, St Mamas seems particularly interesting. He is commemorated in the Ethiopian Church twice a year, on 5 *Mäskäräm* (12 September) and on 27 *Sane* (21 June).¹ Mamas was adopted as a baptismal name in Ethiopia,² but no church or monastery dedicated to him is known to exist in the country. The story of his Life, written in Classical Ethiopic (*Gə'əz*), appears in two different versions. The first is found in some collections of the *Acts of the Martyrs* (*Gädlä Säma'ətar*),³ the second appears in the Ethiopian Synaxary.⁴ St Mamas is also present in Ethiopian art. The scenes of his life and his portraits appear in wall-paintings,

¹ *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, [transl. by] E. A. W. Budge, (Cambridge 1928; repr. Hildesheim 1976), 18–19, 1039; I. Guidi, *Le synaxaire éthiopien: les mois de Sanē, Hamlē et Nahasē*, PO I (1907), 684. In most MSS of *Gädlä Säma'ətar* there is a note stating that the text is to be read on *Mäskäräm* 5, for example in British Library, Or. 689; W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since 1847* (London, 1877), 159.

² For example, Mamas of Gudgude in Tigre, the monk active in Dambla; Kinfe-Righ Zelleke, "Bibliography of Ethiopic Hagiographical Traditions", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 13:2 (1975), 82, no. 102.

³ Unpublished. The following MSS can be mentioned: Paris BN Eth. 59, dated to the 13th c. by H. Zotenberg, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens (ghez et amharique) de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1877), 31; MS 2514, dated to 1382–1388; *CatCollegeville* VII (1983), 6–14; MS 1766, 14th/15th c.; *CatCollegeville* IV (1979), 593–598; British Library, Or. MS 1479, dated to 1459; *CatCollegeville* IV (1979), 687–688, 18th c.; Wright, *Catalogue* 689, 14th/15th c., 686, dated to 1755–1769, and 687–688, 18th c.; the fragments incorporated into MS Tanasee (note 1), nos. CCLIII, CCLVIII; the fragments incorporated into MS Tanasee 105 (Rema 16), dated to the 15th c. by E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee*, II (Wiesbaden, 1977), 121–122, 151; Paris BN, d'Abbadie 110, 18th c.; C. Conti Rossini, "Notices sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie", *Journal Asiatique* 11:2 (1913), 36, no. 164.

⁴ *Book of the Saints* (note 1), 18 f.

in a painting on wood, in miniatures and possibly on a woven curtain recently investigated.⁵

Since St Mamas' cult in Ethiopia has never been studied before, I shall try in the first place to find the textual and pictorial traditions which influenced the Ethiopian versions of St Mamas' legend and the iconography of the saint. It will also be important to find out whether the pictorial types once accepted by Ethiopian artists remained unchanged or were adapted to local conventions.

According to early Christian tradition, Mamas was martyred and buried in Caesarea of Cappadocia c. 274, i.e. during the reign of Emperor Aurelian. The saint's tomb and the sanctuary built nearby became the first places of his veneration.⁶ The festival of St Mamas was celebrated there on 1 September and on Sunday after Easter (*nova dominica, dominica in albis*).⁷ Another centre of his cult was in Mamasun, also in Cappadocia, where a large basilica dedicated to the saint was built.⁸

From Cappadocia the cult of Mamas expanded to all the Eastern Churches. In Constantinople alone two churches, a chapel and a monastery were founded in the name of the saint.⁹ The last treasured his head in a reliquary.¹⁰ St Mamas also enjoyed popularity in Greece,¹¹ but it was Cyprus that accorded him the greatest veneration, especially when in

⁵ See below, p. 231–238.

⁶ G. Bernardakis, "Notes sur la topographie de Césarée de Cappadoce", *EO* 11 (1908), 25–26. The story of how the young Julian, the future emperor, became miraculously exposed as an apostate when he and his brother constructed the basilica at this place is told by Sozomen in his *Church History* V.2.12, transl. by Ch. D. Hartranft, in *A Selected Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, II:2 (Edinburgh – Grand Rapids, MI, 1989; repr.), 326 f. See also Gregory of Nazianzos, *Oratio IV, Adversus Julianum*, 25–27, PG 35, col. 551–555, and L. de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique*, IV (Venice, 1732), 359.

⁷ Cignitti, "Mama", 602.

⁸ According to the commentary on Gregory of Nazianzos by Niketas of Herakleia (PG 127, col. 1411), it was here that Gregory delivered his homily on Mamas; see below, note 19. On the present situation at this place, see N. & M. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1968), 26 f.

⁹ P. J. Pargoire, "Les Saints Mamas de Constantinople", *IRAIC* 9 (1904), 261–316; id., "Saint-Mamas, le quartier russe de Constantinople", *EO* 11 (1908), 203–210; R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin, I: Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat oecuménique*, t. III: *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953), 325–331.

¹⁰ J. Ebersoll, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), 93, 137; Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique* (prec. note), 329. See also below, note 14.

¹¹ Marava-Chatzenikolaou, "Άγιος Μάμας", 84 f.

the late Middle Ages fragments of his relics had been acquired and deposited at Marphou.¹²

St Mamas was not unknown to the Western Church either. In the 6th century, St Radegundis received a finger of the saint for her monastery of the Holy Cross in Poitiers.¹³ The main centre of his cult was however the cathedral in Langres, where from the 8th century on the relics of the saint were revered. It received wider recognition when the church acquired Mamas' arm from Constantinople in the 11th century and his head a century later.¹⁴ It should also be mentioned that he was venerated in Veneto, Tuscany and Milan. Some small local centres of his public cult are found in France, Spain and Portugal.¹⁵

The name of the saint can be found in most ecclesiastical calendars and collections of saints' Lives compiled in both East and West. In the Greek Church and in most of the oriental Churches he is commemorated in the first place on 2 September but also on some other days. In the Latin Church his festival is celebrated on 17 August.¹⁶

The legend of St Mamas exists in many versions and is recorded in different sources, Greek, Latin and Oriental.¹⁷ The earliest present him as a poor, young shepherd who became a Christian and suffered martyrdom as a teenage boy. According to the latest version he came from a noble, or even royal, family, and he is not always a young person.

The homily of Basil the Great delivered in St Mamas' basilica in Caesarea is a sort of panegyric on the saint devoid of factual information.¹⁸

¹² D. Talbot Rice, R. Gums, R. Talbot Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus* (London, 1947), 166 f.; Marava-Chatzenikolaou, "Άγιος Μάμας", 70-84; M. Parakevopoulos, *Recherches sur les Traditions de la Vie Monastique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Mamès* (Nicosia, 1982), 106 f.

¹³ *Vita Sanctae Radegundis*, lib. II, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores in usum Thesaurionum*, ed. B. Krusch, II (Hannover, 1889), 386; *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Poitiers: quatorze siècles de la vie monastique* (Poitiers, 1986), 38-39.

¹⁴ J. Pinus, "De Sancto Mamante vel Mammente Martyre Caesarea Cappadociae", in *AASS*, Aug. III (1752), 444-446; M. Chaume, "Sur les origines du culte de saint Mamès", *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique de Langres* 9 (1917), 173. On this first occasion the Byzantines made a seal with the representation of St Mamas in half-length, dressed in a cloak and holding a cross) and put it to the reliquary. The seal was reproduced in 1726 when a fragment of the relics was translated to the church in Sceaux near Paris; A. Coulon, "A propos d'une relique de Saint Mamès", *AnBoll* 46 (1928), 78-80.

¹⁵ R. Fry, "Exhibition of pictures of the early Venetian School at the Burlington Fine Arts Club", *Burlington Magazine* 20 (1912), 359; Cignitti, "Mama", 603 f.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, cols. 604-607.

¹⁷ See in the first place Pinus, "De Sancto Mamante" (note 14), 423-446; *BHG* 1017.

¹⁸ *Homilia XXIII, Eīs tōn ἁγίων μάρτυρα Μάμαρα*, PG 31, cols. 589-600. See also 1022; *BHG* 5192-5196.

In the 44th homily of Gregory of Nazianzos, St Mamas is only just mentioned. This text, composed for the *nova dominica*, is an ode in which the author speaks of the renewal of nature in spring and praises its creator.¹⁹ He ends the text: "One of the (martyrs) is my wreath. This is the famous Mamas, the shepherd and the martyr. Mamas used to milk the hinds who jostled one another to reach him so that the righteous could be fed with their milk."²⁰ Although very short, this passage was quite often illustrated in manuscripts containing the liturgical edition of Gregory's homily, and a number of scenes representing St Mamas as a shepherd were created on its basis.

The so-called encyclical *passio* develops the topic of Mamas' pastoral life.²¹ We learn that he lived among animals which obeyed him and listened to his preaching, that he made cheese from milk of hinds and gave it to the poor. Accused of sorcery he was arrested and thrown to the bears, lions and leopards which however refused to touch him. He was tortured in many different ways but always survived, often with the help of animals. The cause of his death is not specified in the text. However, we find there some information locating the story in time and space. Mamas was supposed to be the servant of Thaumasio, a bishop of Caesarea. The emperor who persecuted the Christians was Aurelian, the *comes* and the *praeses* he sent to Caesarea were called Claudius and Alexander.

The story of St Mamas is recounted almost in the same way in the *Passio metrica* composed by Walafrid Strabon, in which however the young shepherd appears as an almost mythological personality with characteristics of Orpheus.²²

A different legend is told by an anonymous pre-Metaphrastic *passio*,²³ preserved also in Syriac, Armenian and Georgian redactions.²⁴ Accord-

M. Girardi, "Bibbia e agiografia nell'omiletica sui martiri di Basilio di Cesarea", *Vetera Christianorum* 25 (1988), 479-483.

¹⁹ *Oratio* XLIV (XLVIII), Εἰς τὴν κορυὴν κυριακήν, PG 36, cols. 608-622.

²⁰ Translation after Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, 100.

²¹ The text is composed in the form of a letter addressed to the whole Catholic community in the name of the three bishops Euprepios, Kraton and Perigenes. The Latin translation of the now lost Greek original, probably written in the 4th c., is known from a MS dated to the 14th c. The text was edited by H. Delchaye, "Passio Sancti Mammetis", *AnBoll* 58 (1940), 126-141.

²² *Vita S. Mamnae*, PL 114, cols. 1047-1062.

²³ The text, still unpublished, is known from many MSS, the earliest from the 10th c.; cf. *BHG* 1019.

²⁴ The Syriac text was edited by P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, II (Paris, 1891), 1-8; IV (Paris, 1893), 431-435 and 445-458. The Armenian redaction is published in *Vitae et Passiones sanctorum selectae ex Eclogariis*, II (Venice, 1874), 1-5.

ing to this version Mamas was born in Gangra as son of a senator called Theodotos and his wife Rufina. The parents died in prison and the boy was adopted by a pious woman called Ammia.²⁵ He was brought to trial when he refused to honour the idols. The text describes in detail many kinds of tortures which the saint suffered. His martyrdom took place in two phases. After the first he was rescued by an angel and brought to the mountains where he lived among wild animals, milked them and made food for the poor of the milk. In the second series of tortures he was enclosed in a burning furnace for three days, and having survived he was thrown to the bears, leopards and lions in the arena of a theatre. He finally died with his abdomen split open and his intestines coming out. According to this text the ruling emperor is Aurelian and his governors are called Demokritos and Alexander. In the Metaphrastian menologion we find the same story but without many picturesque details.²⁶

In Cyprus the above-mentioned texts have been reworked in order to make Mamas a local saint.²⁷ Gradually, as a result of many changes, a quite different figure known as Mamas was created there, and his legend is only slightly reminiscent of the *passio* of the Cappadocian Mamas.²⁸ According to the Cyprian story he was born at Aloya in Pamphylia and was martyred there by the Turks. There are many versions relating how his body arrived in the Cyprian village of Marphou and why it was enshrined there. The local stories also explain why in Cyprus St Mamas is usually depicted riding a lion and carrying a lamb.²⁹

The most important source for the Western iconography of Mamas was his *vita* composed by Bishop Godefredus of Langres, which seems to be a compilation of some of the texts previously mentioned.³⁰

As stated above there are two Ethiopian texts recounting Mamas' story. The shorter one is found in the Synaxary.³¹ The sequence of

6-8. The Georgian *Passio* is unedited; on the MSS, see *Le calendrier Palesumo-Georgien du Sinaiticus 34 (X^e siècle)*, ed., trad., comm. G. Garitte (Brussels, 1958), 320.

²⁵ In Syriac and Armenian there are two texts. One tells of the saint himself, the second starts with the story of Mamas' parents who are also regarded as martyrs. In the *Menologium Romanum* they are commemorated together with Ammia on 31 August.

²⁶ PG 115, cols. 566-574.

²⁷ The Cyprian version of the pre-Metaphrastic *vita* was published by N. Klendes, "Προλεγόμενα καὶ κείμενον τῆς Ἀκολουθίας τοῦ ἁγίου ἐρδῶξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Μάμαντος τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ", *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί* 15 (1951), 125-137.

²⁸ Some local versions of the legend are collected in Talbot Rice, *Icons of Cyprus* (note 12), 166 f. See also G. Makarios, *Κύπρος ἡ ἁγία νῆσος* (Athens, 1968), 33 f.

²⁹ See below, p. 221.

³⁰ See Pinus, "De Sancto Mamante" (note 14), 427 f., 432-439; BHL 5198.

³¹ *Book of the Saints* (note 1), 18 f.

events is almost the same as in the Greek texts but we also find some original details. Mamas' father is the governor of the city 'Awlatos during the reign of Emperor Yolyanos (Julian). The saint receives his name from a woman who took him from prison, but the "etymological" explanation is different: "Mamas" is supposed to mean "the orphan". When Mamas was living in the wilderness during the break between the two periods of torture, he fed on the milk of the *gamus*, i.e. the buffalo. As to the ride on a lion, an important element in the iconography of the saint, it is said that Mamas, when thrown to the beasts, leaped upon the back of one of the lions by the power of God. In this version Mamas dies when speared by a three-pronged iron fork.

It is difficult to decide whether these new elements of the story are of Ethiopian origin or were already present in the Coptic-Arabic Synaxary from which the Ethiopian text derives.³² The fragment on St Mamas in an Arabic redaction edited by R. Basset contains none of the details mentioned above.³³ We know however that the Arabic Synaxary exists in many versions composed in various regions of Egypt. Since their archetype has not been reconstructed, the problem of the originality of the Ethiopian text remains unsolved.³⁴

The second Ethiopic text on Mamas, much longer and richer in episodes, is incorporated into *Gädlä Säma'ərat*. As it is still unpublished, a summary of it will be given here.³⁵

The parents of Mamas, Tewodotos and Tewofina, come from the royal family of the city of Qeqia. They live as good Christians, showing hospitality to pilgrims, giving alms and helping anyone who is in dire need. They are persecuted by a powerful man called Alaskandāros³⁶ because they refuse to worship Serapion and other idols. He sends them for trial to the king of Caesarea, where they are thrown into prison. There they die soon after Tewofina has given birth to a boy. These events are

³² The first translation was produced in the second half of the 15th c. This redaction was deficient and contained no stories about local saints, a reason for a rather limited popularity of the work in the Ethiopian Church. The second translation and re-edition was undertaken in the 17th c.; I. Guidi, "The Ethiopian Senkessar", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1911, 739-758.

³³ "Le Synaxaire arabe, jacobite: rédaction copte", ed. R. Basset, PO I (1907), mois Tout, p. 233 f.

³⁴ Op. cit., "Avertissement". In the version translated by F. Wüstenfeld, *Synaxarium: das ist Heiligen-kalender der koptischen Christen* (Gotha, 1879), there is no text on Mamas. On 2 September St Sophia is commemorated.

³⁵ On the basis of the MS 2514, *CatCollegeville VII* (1983), 6-14.

³⁶ The name appears also in the form 'Olla Sakandaros.

announced to a Christian princess, Amāta, by an angel who commands her to bury the noble couple³⁷ and adopt the boy. When he is one year old he calls Amāta *mama*, i.e. "mother", an incident that gives him the name Mamas. The boy is educated together with the children of church singers. He is the best pupil. At this time the king of Caesarea Odinyanos starts to persecute the Christians and commands that all Christian children must sacrifice to the gods. The king's official Damakratos comes to Caesarea to arrange a feast for the god Dānos who is worshipped in the city. Mamas and other boys influenced by him do not obey the order, but nothing happens to them as nobody dares to offend the adopted son of the princess Amāta. The situation changes when she dies. Mamas is summoned by Damokratos for interrogation. He confesses his faith but the dignitary is willing to forgive him because of his youth and good looks, and even to promote him if only he will sacrifice to the gods. Mamas refuses, whereupon he is sent to Caesarea and tortured by King Odinyanos. Between successive series of tortures the boy is given chances to deny his God but every time he refuses. He is whipped, doused in naphtha and set on fire, his mouth is struck with stones. Finally he is thrown into the sea with his legs and arms bound and a heavy stone fastened around his neck. The saint is rescued against his will by an angel who promises to bring him the crown of martyrdom the next time he is tortured. Meanwhile the saint is ordered to live in the mountains among the animals. After forty days Mamas becomes hungry and asks God for help. God sends him an angel who instructs him how to produce cheese from the milk of wild animals.³⁸ God also sends him a miraculous stick. When Mamas hits the earth with it a gospel book appears to him. The voice of God commands him to build an altar and preach to the wild animals, including the lions which have already gathered around. After prayers in which all the animals participate,³⁹ all the males stay where they are and the females line up to be milked by Mamas. When the saint has produced a large amount of cheese he leaves for Caesarea and distributes the food to the poor. The fame of his deeds reaches Alaskanderos, the governor of the city, who accuses Mamas of sorcery and sends soldiers to the mountains with orders to arrest him. When the messengers meet the saint he does not reveal his identity but invites them to his abode. There they witness with awe his services for the lions and other wild animals. After the soldiers' departure to Caesarea Mamas, following the instructions of the Holy Spirit, mounts the biggest lion, informs him with reverence both going to death and rides to the city. The messengers meet him with reverence at the gate and go to announce his arrival to the governor. They speak on his behalf and are accused of having been bribed. The governor orders Mamas to explain the source of the power by which he bewitches animals. Mamas denies being a magician and begins to preach about the Christian God. Alaskanderos, who does not want to punish the twelve-year-old boy, asks him to renounce his faith. When all persuasions are shown to be of no effect the tortures begin. Mamas is hanged and cut with

³⁷ From this point in the text they are called *qaddusan* (holy ones) and *baxda'an* (blessed ones).

³⁸ Contrary to the Synaxary version the text does not specify the kind of animals. See also below, p. 232.

³⁹ The animals which praise God with their voices are mentioned many times throughout the text. See also p. 225 f. and figs. 11, 12.

an iron comb to the depth of his bowels and kidneys. All the time he is consoled and strengthened by a voice from heaven, audible only to the Christians. After the first round of the tortures the saint is thrown into prison where he is honoured by forty prisoners. He feeds them with milk and honey sent by Jesus by means of a dove. During the night the gates of the prison are miraculously opened and all the prisoners escape except Mamas. The next day he still refuses to sacrifice to the idols⁴⁰ and the tortures continue. When the saint is put into a furnace which has been prepared by burning for three days, the fire is first extinguished, then a dove descends from heaven like a wind and cools the heat. After five days the furnace is opened and the governor finds Mamas alive, in a halo of light, praising God together with a host of angels. Alaskanderos makes another attempt to kill Mamas. He gives orders for him to be thrown to the wild beasts, first to the bears, then to the leopards, but they do not harm the saint. At last he is shut in together with a hungry lion in the arena of the city's theatre, but instead of killing Mamas the beast honours him and kills the people who come to watch the spectacle. The governor and his soldiers, protected by Mamas, are rescued. The same story is repeated with another lion. Finally the boy is put into a deadly machine constructed of nails and knives which, when the machine moves, cut and tear the saint's body to death. By an order of the governor the body of Mamas is disposed of but the Christians of Caesarea find it, buried in the mountains, and arrange a festival for the saint. This happened in the 345th year of grace on the 24th of the month of *Təqəmt*.⁴¹

We may observe that the Ethiopian recension of the Life of Mamas as summarized above differs from the Greek and Latin ones. The text is long and includes many episodes not found elsewhere. As already mentioned, this version of Mamas' legend is often included in Ethiopian collections of *Gädlä Sāma'atat* (*Acts of the Martyrs*).⁴² Such collections were translated from Arabic into Ethiopic in the course of the 13th century.⁴³ Moreover, in the same period the acts of other individual saints were translated separately as well and were then, probably at the beginning of the 15th century, gradually included in some of the collections of *Gädlä Sāma'atat*.⁴⁴ The Arabic text of the *Acts* has not been published but the known manuscripts include the story of Mamas.⁴⁵ Taking this fact into consideration we can surmise that the long version of Mamas'

⁴⁰ This time they are named Apolon, Harqalos and *sahay* (Sun).

⁴¹ AD 248, 31 October.

⁴² The components of the collections differ greatly. The story of Mamas is not always included in them but appears quite often.

⁴³ F. M. E. Pereira, *Historia das martyres de Nagra* (Lisbon, 1899), xxxvii. The list of the books belonging to the abbot Iyyāsus Mo'a of Hayq (1214?-1291) contains two copies of *Gädlä Sāma'atat*, cf. MS 1832, *CatColledgeville V* (1981), 296.

⁴⁴ C. Conti Rossini, "Aethiopica", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 10 (1923-1925), § 42, p. 509.

⁴⁵ G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, I (Vatican City, 1944), 520.

story found its way to Ethiopia not as a separate text but as part of a work already compiled in Arabic.

2. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ST MAMAS IN EAST AND WEST

Among the images of St Mamas, three main iconographical types may be distinguished: the conventional standing portrait of the saint, Mamas the shepherd milking a hind, and Mamas riding a lion. Besides there are narrative scenes showing either single episodes from his life and martyrdom or entire cycles of events.

The first type has two variants. The saint, always depicted *en face*, may be represented half-length or full-length. Sometimes he is empty-handed but usually he holds the conventional sign of the martyrs: a cross. The other common attribute of Mamas is a stick. It either refers in a general way to his life as a shepherd or should be connected with the miraculous stick sent to him from heaven. The images of the saint holding a trident or carrying his intestines are of a later date.⁴⁶

The earliest example of the first type is a wall-painting in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome dated to the 8th century. Of the whole figure of the saint only his head remains, with short hair, encircled by a halo and a piece of his yellow clothing.⁴⁷ Since all the martyrs depicted in the church wear a *chlamys* and hold a cross in their right hand and a diadem in their left, we may suppose that the iconography of Mamas did not differ very much from this pattern.⁴⁸

The same kind of portrait often appears in the Cappadocian rock-cut churches, the wall-paintings of which are dated to the period between the 10th and 13th centuries. In chapel no. 6 of Göreme, decorated in the second half of the 10th century, Mamas, together with another saint, is represented on the arch of the southern apse. Both are depicted full-length, but it is impossible to discern the details because the painting is in a very bad condition.⁴⁹ In the chapel, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and Sts John and George, Mamas is one of the fourteen saints represented in half-figure in the medallions which decorated the ceiling of the nave. He

⁴⁶ As examples, the alabaster statue made about 1340 can be mentioned here, as well as the painting by J. Tasset in the 17th c. (both in Langres Cathedral), and the miniature in the Missale of Besançon, dated between 1463-1467, where Menas is accompanied by a lion; V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Macôn, 1940-1941), pl. 131.

⁴⁷ J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, IV (Freiburg i. Br., 1916), fig. 166:2.

⁴⁸ W. de Gruneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique* (Rome, 1911), 113, 491.

⁴⁹ Jerphanion, *Cappadoce*, 1:1, 96; Restle, *Kleinasiens*, no. VIII.

is young and beardless and wears an embroidered tunic and a *chlamys* with a *tablion*.⁵⁰ A very similar painting dated to the 10th century appears in El-Nazar. The medallion with Mamas is one of eight which decorate the arch between the central and the northern nave of the church. A half-figure of the saint wearing a *chlamys* with a clasp is shown against a blue, red and green background.⁵¹ The painting in Kiliclar Kilise on the arch of the southern arm is dated to the 9th century. The saint is represented full-length, young and wearing a dark *chlamys* without a *tablion*.⁵² In the church of the Archangels, in Zindanmüdere Valley, decorated about the mid-10th century, Mamas is represented in full-length. He is young with short hair and wears a red-brown cloak. With a cross in his right hand he holds his left palm open at chest level.⁵³ On the painting in Saklı Kilise from 1073, which occupies the half-pillar next to the door in the northern aisle, he is represented three-quarter length.⁵⁴ A half-length variant from the end of the 10th century is found in Belli Kilise in the group of four martyrs painted on the arch between the left aisle and the apse.⁵⁵ The portrait of Mamas in the Bellek Kilise, painted in the southern aisle on the wall near the door, is almost completely destroyed.⁵⁶ In Elmalı Kilise, the paintings of which date from the 12th century, the full-length portrait of Mamas is very well preserved (fig. 1). The saint, with short hair and his head surrounded by a large nimbus, wears a short flowered tunic, a dark cloak and sandals with the fastening below the knees. He displays two attributes: a cross in his right hand and a short stick in the left.⁵⁷ Finally, in the Church of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in Sövis, the paintings of which date from 1216/17, a three-quarter-length portrait of the saint decorates the middle arch dividing the aisles. He wears a tunic, a dark cloak, and holds a hand-cross. His head with shoulder-long hair is surrounded by a big halo.⁵⁸

⁵⁰ Jerphanion, *Cappadoce*, 1:1, 124; Restle, *Kleinasien*, no. XII.

⁵¹ Jerphanion, *Cappadoce*, 1:1, 180; Restle, *Kleinasien*, no. I, fig. 18.

⁵² Jerphanion, *Cappadoce*, 1:1, 210, fig. 46:1; Restle, *Kleinasien*, no. XXIV.

⁵³ N. Thierry, *Haut Moyen Âge en Cappadoce*, II: *Les églises de la région de Çavuşin* (Paris, 1994), 291.

⁵⁴ Restle, *Kleinasien*, no. II. It seems that the painting has never been published.

⁵⁵ Jerphanion, *Cappadoce*, 2:1, 276; Restle, *Kleinasien*, no. XLVII.

⁵⁶ Jerphanion, *Cappadoce*, 2:1, 256.

⁵⁷ Jerphanion, *Cappadoce*, 1:2, 436-437, fig. 117:1.

⁵⁸ Restle, *Kleinasien*, no. XLV, figs. 414, 421.

A similar standard portrait of Mamas was popular in Cyprus. It appears on wall-paintings in the Church of the Virgin of Kophinou from the 12th century,⁵⁹ and in Panagia Amasgou near Monagri from 1564.⁶⁰ Sometimes he holds a lamb in his hands, for instance in the paintings of the Church of St Herakleidos, Monastery of St John Lampadistes, Kalo-panayiotis, from the second half of the 15th century, or in the Dormition Church in Kourdali painted at the beginning of the 16th century (fig. 2).⁶¹ This attribute has as its basis one of the local legends which recount how Mamas, on his way to Nicosia to be tried, saw a lion in the woods attacking a lamb, took it in his arms, mounted the lion and rode to the city.⁶²

Also in Greece and in Serbia and Macedonia portraits of Mamas are found. On a painting in the Metamorphosis Monastery at Meteora from the 15th century he is represented half-length in a medallion (fig. 3). He wears an embroidered tunic and a cloak covering his left arm and holds a cross in his right hand.⁶³ A similar composition is found in the paintings of St Demetrios' at Mistra, in Staro Nagoričino, in Pečka patrijaršija as well as in Spili Satinos Christi on Crete, but here the saint's attributes — a stick and a lamb — seem to derive from the Cyprian iconography.⁶⁴

We also find the standing figure of Mamas on some so-called menologion icons from Sinai dated to the 11th and 12th centuries.⁶⁵ In the sticherarion of Lavra monastery on Mt Athos, A 164 (17th c.), fol. 5r, he is depicted half-length holding a shepherd's stick and a little lamb.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Marava-Chatzenikolaou, "Άγιος Μάμας", 92, fig. 1Vb; S. Gabelić, "Predstave", 69, fig. 1.

⁶⁰ Gabelić, "Predstave", 71, fig. 11; S. Boyd, "The Church of the Panagia Amasgou, Monagri, Cyprus and Its Wallpaintings", *DOP* 28 (1974), 327, fig. 4.

⁶¹ Gabelić, "Predstave", 71, figs. 7, 3. See also A. & J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus: Treasure of Byzantine Art* (London, 1985), 145, 244, 432.

⁶² Talbot Rice, *Icons of Cyprus* (note 12), 166 f.

⁶³ Marava-Chatzenikolaou, "Άγιος Μάμας", 92-93.

⁶⁴ G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910), pl. 85:2; Marava-Chatzenikolaou, "Άγιος Μάμας", fig. V:1; S. Gabelić, "Contribution to the Iconography of Saint Mamas and Saints with Attributes", *2nd International Congress of Cypriot Studies, Leukosia, 20-25 April 1982* (Nicosia, 1985-86), 578, figs. 2, 4; K. Gallas, K. Wessel, M. Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta* (Munich, 1983), 287, fig. 245. For the wall-paintings in Serbia and Macedonia depicting St Mamas with a lamb, see Gabelić, *op. cit.*, 577, 579, fig. 1.

⁶⁵ G. & M. Sotiriou, *Εἰκόνες τῆς Μορφῆς* (Athens, 1958), 119-120, fig. 132.

⁶⁶ *Oi Omoschouoi tou Agiou Orou*, ed. S. Pelekanides et al., 3 (Athens, 1979), 254, fig. 130.

Both full- and half-length portraits of Mamas are used in the illustration of liturgical books. For instance, in an Oxford menologion, Bodleian Library, Barocc. 230 (11th c.), containing readings for September, he stands, dressed in a tunic, a cloak and high sandals and holding a hand-cross, among thirty-six saints in the frontispiece miniature (fol. 3^v).⁶⁷

The second pictorial tradition representing St Mamas as a shepherd may be connected in the first place with the illustration of manuscripts containing the so-called liturgical edition of selected homilies by Gregory of Nazianzos. The relatively abundant repertory of miniatures illustrating the homily on St Mamas belongs to six different types. The first type usually juxtaposes Gregory with Mamas the shepherd. In the manuscripts Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, 16, fol. 27^r, and Sinai, gr. 346, fol. 27^r (fig. 4), dated to the 11th century, the initial E, at the beginning of the text, is composed of both figures standing one in front of the other. Since Gregory distinctly makes an orator-like gesture and Mamas is a small figure at his feet, they look like a teacher and his pupil.⁶⁸ We may suppose that this picture was created with the purpose of illustrating the homily in question.

This is not the case with the other types. Their more or less narrative character cannot be explained by reference to the text of the homily. G. Galavaris, who has studied the problem in detail, supposes that these scenes were taken over from a large cycle which once illustrated one of Mamas' Lives, most probably a text incorporated into a Metaphrastian menologion.⁶⁹

The first type, which is the most portrait-like one and only slightly connected with the text, represents Mamas in a very general way, in a shepherd's attire and surrounded by a flock of deer. In a miniature in an Oxford manuscript, Bodleian Library, Roe 6 (11/12th c.), fol. 18^r, his large figure is flanked by a complex of buildings, probably representing Caesarea, and a hill on which some hoofed animals are grazing.⁷⁰ A similar representation of the saint decorates two other manuscripts dated to

⁶⁷ N. Patterson Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago, 1990), 17, fig. 1A3.

⁶⁸ Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, 103, fig. 64.

⁶⁹ Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, 99. On the illustration of the menologion see also S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Metaphrastian Menologium", in eadem, *Byzantine and Armenian Studies* (Louvain, 1973), 129-138; Ch. Walter, "The London September Metaphrast Additional", *Zograf* 12 (1981), 12-25 (in this MS the folio with the miniature representing Mamas is lost); id., *Art and Ritual in the Byzantine Church* (London, 1982), 47-51; Patterson Ševčenko, *Metaphrastian Menologion* (note 67).

⁷⁰ Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, fig. 438.

the 11/12th century: Florence, Laur. VII 32, fol. 14^v, and Athos, Dionysiou 61, fol. 17^r, where however they are part of a larger composition.⁷¹ In the first Mamas wears a short clothing resembling a military costume. His flock and the background are almost invisible due to the poor condition of the miniature. To its right we can identify the milking scene which will be discussed below. In the second miniature (fig. 5) the standing figure of the saint is also connected with the milking scene displayed against an architectural background with two towers. The frontal figure of Mamas is the central point of the miniature. He wears a short-sleeved red *chiton*, a blue *chlamys* and boots and holds a shepherd's stick. At his feet two hinds, one lying and one standing, are discernible only from underdrawing. The supplementary elements of the scene — the towers, each accompanied by an angel. Mamas raises his left hand and points to the figure of the Church. The meaning of the scene is not very clear and can be explained neither by reference to the sermon of Gregory nor the *passio* of Mamas. Perhaps the artist wished to allude to the determined attitude of the saint with respect to his belonging to the Christian Church.

The miniature in the manuscript Mt Athos, Vatopedi 107 (11th/12th c.), fol. 28^r, which represents Mamas as a shepherd, has almost nothing in common with the previous ones (fig. 6b). We see here a genuinely pastoral scene, rich in details. Unfortunately not all of them can be discerned.⁷² Mamas in a long tunic and a cloak is sitting on a hill. Behind him in the right-hand margin of the folio a bush or a tree is depicted, with small birds sitting in a nest. Above we see two big birds and traces of vegetation. In front of Mamas a group of animals is visible: two birds in a bush, a doe and two stags, two other birds in a bush, a couple of hoofed animals in the shadow of a tree and above them a family of birds with three chickens eating worms. Since the scene develops from right to left we can be sure that the image on the adjacent folio 27^v is its continuation (fig. 6a).⁷³ It represents one person ploughing with two oxen, another sailing and a third fishing. The composition is made complete by a tree with branches full of small birds.

The representation is one of the scenes which seem to compare Mamas with mythological figures like Attis or Orpheus, associated with

⁷¹ Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, fig. 261; *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated manuscripts*, 1 (Athens, 1973), 416, fig. 107.

⁷² Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, 103.

⁷³ Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, does not connect these scenes.

pastoral life, nature and its annual renewal.⁷⁴ Many details of the representation show that the artist wanted to express this particular idea. Among the animals gathered around St Mamas we can see birds in a nest, a family of birds with chickens and a pair of deer. The ploughing-scene also belongs to the image of spring. We can suppose that this kind of scene may very well be influenced by Gregory's homily on Mamas, which in fact could be compared to a classical ode to nature.

Another iconographical tradition illustrating the theme of St Mamas the shepherd represents him milking a doe. Two manuscripts — of Florence and Athos, Dionysiou — in which this scene appears have already been mentioned. The first is very indistinct. A pair of animals is standing side by side and Mamas, bent down, is milking one of them. The details of the landscape in the background cannot be identified. In the second scene, in which buildings are used as a background, Mamas, dressed as a shepherd, is sitting on a stool and milking one of the animals in front of him (fig. 5).

A miniature in a manuscript of Moscow, State Historical Museum, gr. 146 (11th c.), fol. 29v,⁷⁵ is repeated in detail a century later in a manuscript of Sinai, gr. 336, fol. 53 (fig. 7). In both Mamas is kneeling and milking one of the graceful deer to a vase. He wears a long robe and sandals. His head is encircled by a large halo. The scene is represented in front of a mountain with a cave and framed by vegetation. A simplified version of this scene decorates the initial E in the manuscript Paris, BN gr. 550, fol. 30r: Mamas dressed in a long tunic is kneeling and milking a sheep (fig. 8).

The milking scene with the addition of the figure of a soldier appears in two manuscripts of the 11th century: Vatican Library, gr. 1947, fol. 13r, and Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Hag. Taphou 14, fol. 27r, but it is not rendered in the same way. In the first manuscript Mamas, dressed in a long tunic, is sitting and milking a doe to a vase. Behind him the outline of a mountain is visible but no cave is clearly indicated. The head of Mamas with a nimbus is slightly turned as if he was listening to the soldier standing behind him. He extends his left arm toward the saint and in his right hand he holds a spear.⁷⁶ In the Jerusalem manuscript, Mamas is fully concentrating on milking a large deer (fig. 9). He wears a short

⁷⁴ Marava-Chatzenikolaou, "Αγιος Μάμας", 24-44; F. Halkin, review of Marava-Chatzenikolaou, op. cit., in *AnBoll* 71 (1953), 468; T. Velmans, "L'image de la Déesis dans les églises de Géorgie et dans le reste du monde byzantin", *Cahiers archéologiques* 30 (1982), 137.

⁷⁵ Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, fig. 5.

⁷⁶ Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, fig. 123.

tunic and his head is encircled by a halo. He sits on a faldstool and streams of milk are running into a vase standing on the ground. To the right two gazelles are grazing on rocky mountains covered with decorative vegetation. To the left a soldier carrying a spear, a shield and a sword is energetically walking towards Mamas. An unsuccessful detail in this otherwise naturalistically depicted scene is the cave in the form of a door set in the rock.

The milking scene, especially the variant of it in which this episode is represented alone (the manuscripts of Florence, Moscow and Paris), could undoubtedly be based on the text of Gregory which tells us about this event. However, the miniatures which introduce more details must have had another source. The cave where Mamas, instructed by an angel, found the equipment for making cheese is mentioned in the pre-Metaphrastic *passio* included in the Ethiopian recension. It relates however nothing about a soldier seeing Mamas milk a doe but, as G. Galavaris remarked,⁷⁷ the passage explaining his presence will be found in the Metaphrastic *passio*: when the soldiers received by Mamas are eating their meal in his abode, a doe comes to him in order to be milked.⁷⁸

Another iconographical type showing Mamas as a shepherd is represented in two manuscripts of the 11th century: Athos, Panteleimon 6, fol. 38^v (fig. 11) and Paris BN, Coislin. 239, fol. 27^v,⁷⁹ as well as in one of the 12th century, Sinai, gr. 336, fol. 53^r (fig. 10). All three show him in a shepherd's attire sitting on a hill. In his left hand he holds his staff, his right is lifted in an oratorical gesture. In front of him some does and stags are standing. The Sinai manuscript in which this picture, presented in a decorative frame, is the title miniature, adds the figure of St Gregory.

According to G. Galavaris these scenes contain no narrative elements. Consequently they cannot derive from the text of the *passio* but from an independent frontispiece representation.⁸⁰ However, a more detailed analysis of the miniature permits us to draw a different conclusion. St Mamas with his right hand raised is sitting in front of some animals which seem to listen to him. The scene is certainly reminiscent of the episode of preaching to the animals developed in the pre-Metaphrastic *passio*. Our supposition seems to be confirmed by the Sinai miniature. It seems that

⁷⁷ Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, 100 f.

⁷⁸ PG 115, col. 571.

⁷⁹ Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, fig. 202.

⁸⁰ Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, 102.

the illustrator decided to draw a parallel between St Mamas the shepherd and teacher of animals and St Gregory the shepherd⁸¹ and teacher of people. Moreover, the raised head of one doe in the Athos miniature may allude to another episode found in the same text, namely that in which some animals after Mamas' teaching lifted their heads and loudly praised God. With the same pictorial tradition should be connected the initial M which opens the text on Mamas in a menologion in Venice, Marc. gr. Z 586 (660), fol. 35^r (fig. 12). This is composed of two does with their heads raised and standing on their hind legs, their front legs resting on a plinth set on a low column.⁸² One immediately gets the impression that they are praying with an altar between them.

The last and at the same time most complex representation decorates the title miniature in the famous manuscript of Gregory's homilies. Paris BN, gr. 550 (12th c.), fol. 30^r (fig. 8). This scene, presented in a very decorative frame which includes four medallions with birds (a pelican and a rasp hen) and animals (does and goats), shows Mamas wearing a short, belted tunic, laced sandals and a small bag. Two stags and a hind are standing in front of him. The saint raises his hand and looks to heaven where the figure of Christ in half-length appears. The connection of this miniature with Mamas' *passio* is evident. All the redactions of the legend state that Mamas spoke to God. As a result of this conversation he received a miraculous stick, a Gospel book and instructions concerning the production of cheese and the teaching of animals.

The third iconographical type shows Mamas riding a lion. Usually limited to these two figures it represents a portrait formula in which the animal may be considered the attribute of the saint. The type originates from a narrative scene but we do not know if it was extracted from the illustration representing Mamas' ride to Caesarea or from the episode in the amphitheatre. The earliest representation is known from a 6th-century lead *eulogia* (Athens, Byzantine Museum) (fig. 13). Mamas wears a long tunic and his head is encircled by a halo. He is sitting "side-saddle" on a lion whose head shows anthropomorphic features.⁸³

A very similar representation appears on the gilded tondo from Gelati (Tbilisi, Museum of Art), an object which has been controversially dated

⁸¹ Gregory having been bishop of Constantinople was referred to as ὁ μέγας ποιμὴν-ἀρχηγός; I. Andersson, "The Illustration of Cod. Sinai Gr. 339", *Art Bulletin* 61 (1979), 167-168.

⁸² Patterson Ševčenko, *Metaphrastian Menologion* (note 67), 175.

⁸³ Marava-Chatzenikolaou, "Ἐβλογίον τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμα", *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 2 (1960/61), 131-137; Velmans, "Désis" (note 74), 139.

to the period between the 6th and 11th centuries⁸⁴ (fig. 14). The saint wears a long tunic and a cloak, his head is surrounded by a halo. Holding a cross in his right hand he sits astride a lion which by its mane, its decoratively traced tail and almost griffin-like paws reminds one of representations of lions in Iranian art.

In the church of the Holy Cross in Manglissi, dated to the 11th century, a picture of Mamas appears on the south-eastern part of the dome. He sits "side-saddle" on a lion which seems to be marching energetically with lifted tail. It belongs to the same type as the Gelati lion with its human face and its griffin's paws. There is however an important difference between these two representations. In Manglissi, Mamas holds, instead of a cross, a cornucopia. He is depicted without a halo. The figure of the saint is surrounded by a multicoloured mandorla and shown against a starry heaven.⁸⁵ T. Velmans remarks that St Mamas, identified by an inscription, is here represented as an allegory of the Sun. Originally the painting also contained a now destroyed personification of the Moon.⁸⁶ The explanation why such a peculiar iconography of Mamas was created lies apparently in the combination of his legend with the pagan myths concerning the gods of fertility and annual renewal.⁸⁷

The third Georgian representation of Mamas is found in a manuscript containing the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 109; 12th c.) (fig. 15).⁸⁸ The saint, wearing a long purple garment showing one arm naked, is riding his lion "side-saddle". His empty hands are raised to chest level and his head is surrounded by a halo. The lion is depicted quite realistically, with big paws, the tail hanging down and the mouth open, showing a big red tongue. The background represents a summer landscape which may be compared to the miniature of the manuscript Athos, Vatopedi 107, described above. The riding saint passes green trees and bushes inhabited by birds. Here we can also see a nest with the nestlings and their mother coming with an

⁸⁴ To the 6th/7th c. by S. Amiranašvili, *Kunstschätze Georgiens* (Prague, 1971), 40-41; to the 11th c. by G. Čubinašvili, *Čekameje iskusstvo* (Tbilisi, 1959), 373, and A. Alpago-Novello, V. Beridze, J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Art and architecture in medieval Georgia* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980), 37.

⁸⁵ T. Velmans, "Déisis" (note 74), fig. 12.

⁸⁶ *Op. cit.*, 137-139.

⁸⁷ The mythologists of the Usener school wished to see in him the incarnation of Cybele.

⁸⁸ S. Amiranašvili, *Gruzinskaja miniatjura* (Moscow, 1960), 31 f.; *Georgian Manuscripts*, intr. H. Machavariani (Tbilisi, 1970), 34.

insect in her beak. On the left, a shepherd sits on a hillock watching his flock and playing the flute. Two people are working in the field.

The formula which shows Mamas riding a lion acquired particular popularity in Cyprus where it developed a specific variant: the saint sitting on the back of the beast holds a shepherd's crook and a lamb, two attributes characteristic also of the Cyprian standing portrait of the saint. S. Gabelić supposes that this new iconographical type came into being by the fusion of two older motives: Mamas riding a lion and Mamas the shepherd. Its popularity was probably enhanced by the local legend mentioned above, which explains the presence of all the elements of the representation.⁸⁹ St Mamas the shepherd riding a lion is the subject of numerous wall-paintings and icons dating from the 14th century onwards. Since most of them closely follow the already discussed formula,⁹⁰ only a few examples which differ from it in some details will be mentioned here.

In the Church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, the paintings of which date back to 1495, Mamas, riding a human-faced lion and holding his two typical attributes, is shown against the background of a schematically traced landscape. In the right corner a fragment of sky is depicted with the figure of Christ blessing.⁹¹ A similar representation appears in the church dedicated to St Mamas in Louvras, but here he is represented under a rainbow.⁹² On a particularly beautiful icon, dated to the beginning of the 16th century, from the Church of the Holy Cross in Pelendari, Mamas is riding a lion which looks at him as might a faithful dog (fig. 16).

Narrative scenes representing various episodes of Mamas' life are rare before the 15th century but, as G. Galavaris concluded, there once exis-

⁸⁹ Gabelić, "Predstave", 73-74.

⁹⁰ See also: Galata, St Sozomenos, from 1513, Vizakia, St Michael, 16th c., Gabelić, "Predstave", figs. 9, 10; Nikitari, Panagia tis Asinou, 14th c., Bishop of Gibraltar, V. Seymer, W. H. Buckler, Mrs. W. H. Buckler, "The Church of Asinou, Cyprus and its Frescoes", *Archaeologia* 83 (1933), 337, pl. XCVI; Gabelić, "Predstave", fig. 2; Paleochorio, Church of the Transfiguration, c. 1420; Marava-Chatzenikolaou, "Αγιος Μάμας", fig. XIIc, Gabelić, op. cit., fig. 4; Stylianou, *Churches of Cyprus* (note 61), fig. 161; Pedoulas, St Michael, 1474, Gabelić, op. cit., fig. 3; church in Morphou, Marava-Chatzenikolaou, op. cit., fig. IX. With donors he is represented on a painting in the church of Chrysaliniotissa in Nikosia, Talbot Rice, *Icons of Cyprus* (note 12), fig. 78, and on a relief in the church in Leukosia, Marava-Chatzenikolaou, op. cit., fig. XIIb; Stylianou, op. cit., 137, 290, 346, 405, 484.

⁹¹ Gabelić, "Predstave", fig. 5; Stylianou, *Churches of Cyprus*, 206, fig. 118.

⁹² Gabelić, "Predstave", fig. 6.

ted a whole series of scenes, most probably created in order to illustrate St Mamas' *passio* incorporated into a menologion.⁹³ The milking scene with a soldier, decorating some homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos mentioned above, seems to be one of them. Another, which belongs to the cycle of the martyrdom, is preserved in the *Menologion of Basil II* of the 10/11th century (fig. 17).⁹⁴ The saint, who wears a blue tunic with golden embroidery and sandals, holds his hands over the wound in his stomach from which blood is flowing. In this miniature, which contains a rocky landscape and the gate of a city as its background, the painter most probably depicted the final, fatal torture of Mamas as it is described in the Metaphrastic *passio*. The same scene, although represented on a neutral background, appears in the already mentioned Venice menologion, fol. 35^r (fig. 18)⁹⁵ and in a menologion icon from Sinai, while the wall-painting in Dečani (1346/47) dramatizes the formula found in the *Menologion of Basil II*.⁹⁶

Later the same episode became the subject of wall-paintings in two monasteries of Meteora. In that of the Metamorphosis, from 1552, St Mamas is stabbed in the stomach by a soldier holding an iron fork. In that of Barlaam, painted in 1637, Mamas is already dead and his intestines are being devoured by three lions (fig. 19). In both a rocky landscape and a building indicating Caesarea is depicted in the background.⁹⁷

The popularity of St Mamas in Italy, particularly in Tuscany and Veneto, resulted in a group of paintings which represent his martyrdom and death. To Michele Giambono of Venice (1420–1462) is attributed a portrait of Mamas in which he is depicted riding a lion, holding a martyr's palm and a book (Verona, Museo municipale), as well as a series of panels whose subject is the last days of his life (New Haven, University of Yale [previously A. Bryce's collection], and Venice, Museo Correr).

⁹³ Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, 99–103.

⁹⁴ *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (Cod. Vaticano Greco 1613), I: *Testo* (Turin, 1907), col. 5.

⁹⁵ See above, note 82.

⁹⁶ Soteriou, *Μονή Σινῶ* (note 65), 121–123, fig. 138; Gabelić, "Contribution" (note 5), 578, fig. 5.

⁹⁷ G. Soteriou, "Βυζαντινὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Θεσσαλίας II" καὶ 1Δ' αἰῶνος", *ΕΕΒΣ* 5 (64), 578, fig. 5.

⁹⁸ G. Soteriou, "Αγιος Μάμας", 98–99, figs. VII, VIII. We can observe that the scene from the Metamorphosis Monastery corresponds in details with the directives given in the manual of Dionysios, *The "Painter's manual" of Dionysios of Fourna*, transl. P. Hetherington (London, 1978), 71. See also the dramatic scene in the narthex of Peška patrijaršija from 1565, Gabelić, "Contribution", 579, fig. 7.

(fig. 20 a-d).⁹⁸ In the first, he is preaching to a flock of lions and watched by a group of terrified soldiers. The second seems to represent the moment of the death sentence: on the left the *praeses* Alexander speaks to an old man, probably the judge;⁹⁹ in front of the building Mamas with a lion lying at his feet entrusts himself to God visible in heaven over a portico. The next scene shows Mamas in a court house. He stands in front of the governor while a torturer sticks a spear in his stomach. On the left we see him in the distance, having left the city, carrying his entrails with him. In the last panel Mamas, kneeling in front of his shepherd's hut, consigns his soul to an angel while his intestines are falling out on to the ground.

Mamas is one of four saints who flank the Trinity on the central panel of the altar made by the Florentine painter Francesco Pesellino (1422-1457), London, National Gallery. Young, with almost feminine features, he wears a short tunic, a cloak and sandals and holds a palm of martyrdom. The saint is represented again on the altar's predella, praying in the prison and accompanied by a lion.¹⁰⁰

The 16th-century painting by Francesco Frigimelica in the church dedicated to St Mamas in Belluno, represents the saint in a mountain landscape holding his shepherd's crook and with a lion lying at his feet. An angel carrying a martyr's crown is descending from heaven, and a vision of the crucified Christ appears on the rocks.¹⁰¹

Mamas' story became the subject of eight arrases ordered in 1543 by Claude de Longwy, bishop of Langres, from J. Cousin.¹⁰² Only three have survived. Two are still preserved in the cathedral of Langres; the third found its way from a private collection to the Louvre. The first displays five episodes from Mamas' life as a shepherd. The story starts at the second level in the centre of the textile.¹⁰³ Mamas, kneeling, speaks with an angel who hands him the stick. On the left he is sitting in the forest in front of his dwelling surrounded by a group of animals. He

⁹⁸ Fry, "Exhibition of pictures" (note 15), 346-59; Marava-Chatzenikolaou, "Ἄγιος Μέμας", 99, figs. IX, X a-d; Cignitti, "Mama", figs. on pp. 605-606 and 609-610.

⁹⁹ According to Fry, "Exhibition of pictures", 351, this person who also appears in the next panel between the torturers of the saint may be the priest of Serapis at whose altar Mamas refused to worship.

¹⁰⁰ G. Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art: Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence, 1952), figs. 750, 751; Cignitti, "Mama", fig. on p. 599.

¹⁰¹ Cignitti, "Mama", fig. on p. 594.

¹⁰² M. Roy, "Les tapisseries de Saint-Mammès de Langres: Compositions authentiques de Jehan Cousin Père", *Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Sens* 5 (1914), 1-8.

¹⁰³ Op. cit., pl. 1, and Cignitti, "Mama", fig. on p. 597-598.

milks one of them which seems to be a lioness.¹⁰⁴ On the right, under a large portico, he distributes cheese to the poor. Finally, to the right in a mountain landscape he meets equestrian messengers. The main scene, which occupies the first level of the picture, shows Mamas sitting on a rock and reading from the Gospel book to a flock of animals which even includes a unicorn, probably a symbol of his virginal youth. The story is carried on in the Louvre textile, which includes five more episodes.¹⁰⁵ In the background, to the left, the saint shows hospitality to the soldiers who have been frightened at the sight of the wild animals gathering around him. Also to the left they bid farewell to him, and in the background they ride to Caesarea. The next scene, placed in the foreground, shows them at the gate of the city meeting the saint who is accompanied by a big lion. The last episode is represented in the middle of the textile on the second level. Under a large portico, the saint, bound to a column, is stabbed with a fork while an angel is coming to him with a martyr's crown. The second textile of Langres depicts the episodes preceding the saint's death. To the left, the prisoners are flying from a miraculously opened prison, represented as a round building with a colonnade. The main scene, in the middle of the picture, shows Mamas, accompanied by angels, in a huge burning furnace. Some other angels coming from heaven seem to be extinguishing the glow. To the right, Alexander gives commands to torturers occupied in maintaining the fire.¹⁰⁶

3. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ST MAMAS IN ETHIOPIA

The earliest example appears in a wall-painting in the Giännātā Maryām Church near Lalibela.¹⁰⁷ The murals¹⁰⁸ can be dated to the last quarter of

¹⁰⁴ According to one of the Cyprian legends, Mamas milked lionesses, not hinds; Talbot Rice, *Icons of Cyprus* (note 12), 167.

¹⁰⁵ Roy, "Tapisseries" (note 102), pl. II, and Cignitti, "Mama", fig. on p. 595-596.

¹⁰⁶ Roy, "Tapisseries", pl. III.

¹⁰⁷ I want to express my gratitude to Paul B. Henze who generously supplied me with his excellent slides and photographs which helped me to study the iconography of the painting as well as to read the inscriptions.

¹⁰⁸ The iconographical programme of the paintings has never been the subject of systematic research. Some paintings were described in G. Gerster, *Churches in Rock: Early Christian Art in Ethiopia* (London, 1970), 115-118, figs. 125-138; C. Lepage, "Peintures murales de Ganata Maryam", *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des civilisations éthiopiennes* 6 (1975), 59-83, with 18 figs; M. Heldman, "Getatchew Hale, 'Who is who in Ethiopia's Past, III: Founders of Ethiopia's Salomonic Dynasty', *Northeast African Studies* 9:1 (1987), 1-11. The programme has the following main topics: 1. Biblical scenes and persons; 2. Christological cycle and scenes based on the New Testament; 3. archangels and angels; 4. saints, martyrs, monks

the 13th century by the dedicatory inscription of king Yəkuno Amlak (1270-1285) which accompanies his portrait.¹⁰⁹

In the case of Mamas we are dealing with three scenes distinctly separate from each other: two are placed on either side of a window, the third close to them on the front of a half-pillar.¹¹⁰ Reading the pictures from left to right we see first in a painted frame a flock of brown and white hoofed animals with humps on their backs (fig. 21a). Some of them are standing, some lying. The animals must be female since at the side of each a calf is depicted. In the upper part of the scene¹¹¹ the following inscription is found: *wä-wäḥabo 'ägzi'abəher lä-Mamas 'arawitā bā-gādam kāmā yəstay halibomu*, i.e., "And God gave Mamas animals in the wilderness¹¹² that he might drink their milk".

In the second picture (fig. 21b) two young men wearing long garments, very similar to shirts, are linked arm in arm. The inscription concerning these figures reads: *kəl'ehomu lä'kanā nəguś ḥabä Mamas kāmā yəḥsasəwwə ḥabä ḥalläwä gādam:: rükäbəwwə täd'ino dibä 'ənsəsa wä-'amnu botu kəl'ehomu*, i.e., "The two messengers of the king (sent) to Mamas in order to find where (his) wilderness (dwelling) was. They found him riding a lion and both of them believed in him."

Finally, the third picture, framed as the first one, represents Mamas riding a lion (fig. 21c). The saint, half-naked, is wearing a kind of shirt. He holds a cross in his right hand. His head is surrounded by a halo. The lion is very similar to a horse. In fact only its upraised tail allows us to identify it correctly. The inscription above the figures reads: *qəddus Mamas sāma'atu lä-Krəstos sə'al wä-šälli bā'ənte konä*, i.e., "Saint Mamas, martyr of Christ, intercede and pray for us".

We can surmise that the story of Mamas as depicted in Gännätä Maryam has no direct parallel in the Eastern and Western iconographical

¹⁰⁹ Sergew Hable Sellase, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (Addis Ababa, 1972), 291.

¹¹⁰ The paintings are located in the southern nave, on the wall of the 2nd travée and on the half-pillar between the 2nd and 3rd travée.

¹¹¹ Above the picture one can recognize the feet of a person wearing a long garment. Since the upper part of the figure is destroyed we do not know if it should be connected with the scenes painted in the lower row. The comparison with other, better preserved parts of the paintings tells against this possibility. The figures depicted in the upper rows of the walls have no connection with the figures in the lower rows.

¹¹² It should be observed that the inscription does not mention the kind of animals depicted. They are not named in the text of the *Gädlä Säma'at* either. On the contrary, in the Synaxary they are called *gāmus*, "buffalo", i.e. animals very similar to the creatures represented in the painting.

material reviewed above. Although the Ethiopian painter illustrates the same episode of the legend which most often inspired other artists, i.e. Mamas' life as a shepherd and his meeting with the soldiers, he approaches the subject in a very individual way. Most striking are the omissions he decided to make in the composition of the scenes. In the two first, Mamas is not represented at all. Moreover, the figures depicted are so conventionally presented that we can hardly associate them with the actual episode of the legend. In fact, it is not the pictures that tell the story, but the accompanying inscriptions.

The third scene, on the other hand, closely follows Eastern iconographical tradition. The lion's strong resemblance to a horse is most probably the result of a general assimilation of Mamas to other equestrian saints represented in the church.¹¹³ It may also be remarked that the picture seems to have a double function. Firstly, it can be regarded as the third scene illustrating Mamas' legend: after meeting the messengers of the governor the saint is going to Caesarea riding his lion. Secondly, it is a conventional portrait of the saint¹¹⁴ similar to many others painted in the church. This devotional function is accentuated by the short prayer appended to the main inscription.¹¹⁵

Since the paintings of the Gännätä Maryam Church are dated to the end of the 13th century, we may surmise that *Gädlä Säma'ätat*, translated into *Gə'əz* about that time, became the source of inspiration for the cycle of saints represented in the church. The question arises, however, whether the painter had at his disposal an illustrated manuscript or a manuscript containing only the text. Was it a Coptic-Arabic or an Ethiopic manuscript? It seems that we have to take into consideration all these possibilities, keeping in mind the fact that the earliest Ethiopic manuscripts of *Gädlä Säma'ätat* either do not have any miniatures at all, or are only decorated with conventional portraits of the saints.¹¹⁶

The first possibility is that the painter was inspired by the miniatures of a Coptic-Arabic manuscript, perhaps the one used for the translation into *Gə'əz*. In addition to individual portraits of the saints it probably contained narrative cycles illustrating their legends. For Mamas the Ethi-

¹¹³ Sts Mercurius (Lepage, "Peintures" [note 108], fig. 5), George and Cyriacus.

¹¹⁴ We may consider a third function, the apotropaic, as well. The painting occupies the half-pillar next to the door of the southern aisle towards which the saint is turned. Such a location suggests that he may be considered as the guardian of the door, like other equestrian saints represented in the church. Lepage, "Peintures", 81.

¹¹⁵ The portraits of most of the saints in Gännätä Maryam are accompanied by the same supplication prayer as the portrait of St Mamas.

¹¹⁶ See, for example, below, p. 234.

opian painter chose, as he thought, the three most important scenes, which however, deprived of their narrative context, partly lost their significance. The second possibility is that the painter had obtained a manuscript without illuminations, containing an Ethiopian translation of the Lives of the martyrs. Confronted with the story of an unfamiliar saint the painter created a pictorial narrative by himself. He did this in a very personal way, bringing to the fore animals¹¹⁷ and secondary figures of the legend. In both cases however another problem remains: why did he pay so much attention to St Mamas and honour him with a whole series of paintings?¹¹⁸

A later representation of Mamas is a miniature in the manuscript of *Gädlä Säma'otat* from the church Astit Kidanä Mährät in Ankobär¹¹⁹ dated to 1382–1388.¹²⁰ The full-page miniature (fig. 22) represents three figures standing under an arch formed of a stylized branch of acanthus. The first figure on the left is a man with a white beard, wearing a long tunic, a cloak and a small, triangular cap. He is holding a processional cross attached to a long pointed stick. His head is surrounded by a halo. The second figure is depicted in the same way, the only difference being his short, black beard. The third figure is a woman wearing a long tunic and a *maphorion*. She has neither a halo nor an attribute. Above the arch there is an inscription which reads: *sə'älä qəddus Mamas wä-'abuhu Tewodotos wä-'əmmu Tewofina:: Šälotomu wä-barükätomu təkun mu'əkälä kwaln lä'alämä 'aläm amen wä-amen*, i.e., "The picture of saint Mamas and his father Tewodotos and his mother Tewofina. May their prayer and blessing be with all of us for ever and ever; amen and amen".

The miniature¹²¹ serves as frontispiece for the text about Mamas introduced by the title *zəntu zenahu lä-qəddus Mamas wä-'abuhu Tewo-*

¹¹⁷ Many kinds of animals and birds are represented in the church without any special reason, Lepage, "Peintures", figs. 1, 2, 6.

¹¹⁸ The dedication of the church cannot be the reason. Originally the church was dedicated to Maṭa, the founder of Däbrä Libanos of Šimāzana; Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke, "Bibliography" (note 2), 80. The present name of the church is Gännatä Maryam, "Paradise of Mary". We may remark that none of the numerous saints represented in the church has three episodes of his life depicted.

¹¹⁹ MS 2514, *Cat* Collegeville VII (1983), 6–14.

¹²⁰ The manuscript was commissioned by Märqorewos, a military official of king David (1382–1413) during the episcopate of metropolitan Sälama (1348–1388), *op. cit.*, 13.

¹²¹ Stylistically the miniature is connected with the miniatures of the Gospel book of Abbot Krastos Täsfanä of Hayq, Addis Abeba, National Library, MS A.5. Cf., for example, the triangular caps, the schematically traced folds of the garments, ears similar to bows, *Éthiopie: manuscrits à peintures* (Paris, 1961), pl. I–V.

dotos wä-ämmu Tewofina, i.e., "This is the story of the holy Mamas and his father Tewodotos and his mother Tewofina". The text starts with the story of Mamas' parents who are also regarded as saints,¹²² a fact which explains their presence in the miniature.

In the repertory of representations of Mamas reviewed above there is no example of such a triple portrait. We may surmise that the composition was invented to illustrate this particular version of Mamas' *gädl*, probably already incorporated into the large collection of the *Acts*. It is however difficult to know when and where this collection was first illuminated: before it reached Ethiopia or in that country?

The representation belongs to the full-figure portrait type, well established both in Eastern and Western pictorial tradition. It has however one peculiar detail unknown from elsewhere. Mamas, who is always represented as a boy¹²³ or as a youngster, has in the miniature received a beard, making him a middle-aged man. This curious detail can be explained in different ways. Either the painter was unfamiliar with the story of the young saint and depicted him in the most conventional way, or, less probably, we have to do here with influences from the Cyprian tradition which makes him a mature or even old man.

St Mamas riding a lion is one of fourteen saints represented on two panels which were originally the wings of a triptych (IES, no. 4053) (fig. 23).¹²⁴ On stylistic grounds they should be dated to the middle or the second half of the 15th century.¹²⁵ The decorative uniformity, which is characteristic of the painting,¹²⁶ affects the figure of Mamas as well.

¹²² See above, p. 217, note 37.

¹²³ See, for example, *Painter's Manual* (note 97), 57.

¹²⁴ The following saints are represented: on the left panel (reading from the upper left): Aboli, George, Mamas, Äntawos (Anteus), Nob, Gäbrä Krastos (Alexius), Galadewos (Clausius). On the right panel: Theodore, Fasilidäs (Basil), Cyriacus, Stephen, Mercurius, king Lalibäla, the head of Prodromos.

¹²⁵ The painting is probably the work of the same artist who provided two other paintings on wood: the triptych IES 4186 and the diptych IES 3930; for colour illustrations see *Religieuse Kunst Äthiopiens* (exhibition catalogue) (Stuttgart, 1973), figs. on pp. 97, 99. The problem is discussed by S. Chojnacki, *Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting: indigenous developments, the influence of foreign models and their adaptation from the 13th to the 19th century* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 415-427.

¹²⁶ The pictures on both panels are composed in mirror symmetry, i.e. each figure on the left panel has its mirror-image on the right one. On both panels the figures are divided into three registers. The saints are represented in the same position. Their horses make the same movement. The attributes are repeated with two exceptions. The moon-faced saints wear the same kind of dress arranged in the same way. The decorative as-

Similarly to the other mounted saints depicted on the panel he is young,¹²⁷ with a halo around his head, and wears the Ethiopian dress: a tunic reaching to the knees (*qāmis*), large trousers (*surri*) and a piece of material thrown over the shoulders (*šamma*).¹²⁸ The lion, drawn quite realistically,¹²⁹ seems to gallop like a horse and Mamas holds his mane as he might hold reins. In fact the only difference between him and the other riders is his attribute, a cross on a long stick.

It remains to remark that the iconographical programme of the two panels undoubtedly depends on the text of *Gädlä Sāma'atāt*. There are manuscripts which contain collections of the *Acts* of exactly the same saints that are represented in our painting.¹³⁰

The figure of St Mamas riding a lion appears once again in the wall-painting of the Yadibba Maryam Church in Dawənt, dated, with reservations, to the 16th century.¹³¹ The representation is known only from D. Buxton's drawing (fig. 24)¹³² and seems to be similar to that on the wooden panel just described. The lion has a human face and huge paws armed with exaggerated claws. Mamas wears an Ethiopian dress, as in the previous case. His head is encircled by a patterned halo reminiscent of a turban. In his left hand he holds the lion's mane as if holding reins and in his right hand a lance. The change of attribute from the usual cross to a weapon is due to the process, already described, of the assimilation of Mamas to equestrian saints which seems to have taken place in

pect is manifested in the ornamental treatment of the details. The pieces of clothing are imaginatively arranged, their colour and pattern change from person to person. The hair of people and the manes of the animals are carefully drawn. Equipment, such as the trapping of the horses, is realistically depicted.

¹²⁷ On the right panel, however, all the equestrian figures are depicted with mature, bearded faces.

¹²⁸ S. Chojnacki, "A Note on the Costumes in 15th and Early 16th Century Paintings Portraits of the Nobles and Their Relation to the Images of Saints on Horseback", *Ethiopian Studies dedicated to W. Leslau* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 521–553, esp. 542–544.

¹²⁹ We may observe, however, that it still has the human face and the griffin's paws originating from the Sassanian models.

¹³⁰ The explanation by E. Heldman, who speculates about a supposed representation on a non-existent central panel, is not convincing. Also we can hardly accept her allegation that "Mamas riding a lion symbolizes anachoretic life and the monastic ideal", see *African Zion: The Sacred Art of Ethiopia* (New Haven – London, 1993), nr. 81. No version of his legend nor his iconography allows such a conclusion.

¹³¹ D. Buxton, *The Abyssinians* (London, 1970), 147.

¹³² The photographs of the fragments published by Buxton, op. cit., figs. 84, 85, and O. Jäger & I. Pearce, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia* (Stuttgart, 1974), figs 14–16, give us an idea of the style of the paintings.

Ethiopian art. In fact, as the description of the programme of wall-paintings in Yadibba Maryam shows, here too Mamas is placed among the military saints.¹³³

In the church at Guh, the murals of which are painted in a style similar to that in Yadibba Maryam, the figure of Mamas is painted in the lower part of the southern dome. This time it is the conventional portrait of the saint.¹³⁴ Young and haloed he stands together with the Egyptian saint Abib.¹³⁵

The manuscript of *Gädlä Sāma'īyat*, British Library, Or. 687, was written towards the end of the 18th century and its decoration belongs to the so-called second Gondar style. The text on Mamas is illustrated with two miniatures. The first, which occupies an entire page, fol. 8^v (fig. 25a), is a kind of frontispiece miniature to the text which starts on the opposite page, fol. 9^r. It represents a king sitting on a throne under an arch and accompanied by a person shown in profile. Standing in front of the ruler another person, clothed in a tunic and a toga (?) with gray, carefully dressed hair, shows him a vase. On the right side of the picture we can see a boy who seems to be immersed in brownish water and a cherub in the sky. The meaning of the miniature is not very clear and unfortunately it has no inscription. We can surmise, however, that the painter here wished to depict two early episodes of the Mamas legend. On the left, it may be the princess Ammia asking the king for permission to bury Mamas' parents and adopt the boy, or the governor ʿĪllä Səkan-daros accusing the saint before king Odənyanos and exhibiting the offerings which the boy refused to make to the gods. On the right, Mamas, thrown into the sea with heavy stones bound to his body, is about to drown, but an angel comes to rescue him.

The second miniature is placed at the end of the text (fig. 25b). On the right, Mamas, with his hands and feet bound, is sitting in front of a building of several storeys. Under an arch appears a person shown in profile. On the left, two lions are depicted under a tree. One of them seems to bow before Mamas or to lick his feet. It is not easy to decide which of the last episodes of Mamas' life are represented here. It could be the moment when he is put in prison or perhaps thrown to the lions in an arena, which, however, do not devour him.

Finally one more representation should be mentioned. On the card-

¹³³ Buxton, *The Abyssinians*, 146.

¹³⁴ The only photograph of the painting, published in Gerster, *Churches in Rock* (note 108), fig. 184, is cut and shows only the head of the saint.

¹³⁵ Gerster, *Churches in Rock*, 136.

woven silk curtain of the Royal Ontario Museum, one of five scenes represents a person with a lion (fig. 26).¹³⁶ It seems to be a young man, beardless and with short hair. He wears a long tunic and does not display any attribute. The lion has its tail raised and its paws have distinctly marked claws. An advanced degree of stylization prevents us from deciding the exact relation between these two figures; the person may be standing behind the lion but may just as well be riding it. The group is flanked by two long-legged water birds which can be identified as open-billed storks.

A preliminary study of the textile has not given a definite answer as to who the person with the lion is.¹³⁷ The presence of this animal suggests a hermit or a monk. According to the Lives of the saints many of them kept tame lions. In some cases the theme was adopted by the iconographers.¹³⁸ In Ethiopia two saints are usually represented with a lion: Gäbrä Mānfās Qəddus and Samuel of Wäldäbba. Since the iconography of the latter is very similar to the picture on the textile it was natural to take him into consideration in the first place.¹³⁹

However, our research has proved that Mamas may also be the person intended. Even if he is not a local saint, his legend, included in two popular texts, was very well known. Also his iconography in Ethiopian art shows considerable variation. When in the 16th century Ethiopian artists started to decorate manuscripts, wooden panels and churches with long series of saints,¹⁴⁰ St Mamas appeared very often among them. The fact that the lion-rider on the textile is flanked by two birds also provides an argument for this identification. The picture may be a simplified version

¹³⁶ The whole textile is composed of three pieces sewn together. The main scene which occupies the central strip represents a king and a queen accompanied by courtiers and ecclesiastical dignitaries. On the right strip there is a liturgical scene and the Crucifixion, on the left a person with a lion and a group of church paraphernalia.

¹³⁷ M. Gervers & E. Balicka-Witakowska, "Two Ethiopian card-woven silk curtains", *Proceedings of the Third Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art, Addis Ababa, 9-11 November 1993* (forthcoming).

¹³⁸ See, for example, representations of St Paul the hermit, St Onuphrius, St Gerasimus, St Jerome.

¹³⁹ Gäbrä Mānfās Qəddus is usually represented with lions and leopards lying at his feet, see for example *Religiöse Kunst Äthiopiens* (note 125), nos. 13, 18, 20, 32. Samuel riding a lion, *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei* (Innsbruck, 1985), no. 72; Chojnacki, *Major Themes*, fig. 133.

¹⁴⁰ On this problem see C. Lepage, "Esquisse d'une histoire de l'ancien peinture éthiopienne du X^e au XV^e siècle", *Abbay 8* (1977), 68 f.; E. Balicka-Witakowska, "Un psautier éthiopien illustré inconnu", *OrSucc* 33-35 (1984-86), 17-48.

of the pastoral scene with St Mamas, of the kind known from the Greek manuscript of Vatopedi, Mt Athos, and the Georgian one of Tbilisi (figs. 6, 15).

We must however remark that a correct identification of the figure with the lion depends on other factors as well. It is important to establish its relation to the other scenes on the curtain, as well as its place in the whole iconographical programme of the curtain, problems which have yet to find a satisfactory solution.

CONCLUSION

In the present state of research on the Ethiopian texts of the *Acts of Mamas* and the Synaxary it is difficult to decide how close they are to their Arabic *Vorlage*. The introduction of Ethiopian innovations into the story of Mamas is more probable in the case of the Synaxary reworked in the 17th century in order to be adapted to local needs. The legend in *Gädlä Sāma'atat* may very well closely follow an Arabic text of the *Acts*.

Returning to the pictorial representations of Mamas it may be noted that in the Ethiopian tradition both types of portraits of him are present (the standing figure and Mamas riding a lion), as well as narrative scenes of his life.

The bearded face of the saint and the addition of the figures of his parents make the picture in the miniature in *Gädlä Sāma'atat* of Asit Kidanä Möhrät unique. However, it is difficult to decide whether it is really a creation of the Ethiopian painter, as we know of no relevant comparative material.

The portraits of Mamas riding seem to derive from the early Christian tradition, characterized by the griffin-like appearance of the lion and its human face. Ethiopian contributions to the iconography of this type are limited to the introduction of the local dress of the saint.

The origin of the paintings in the Gännätä Maryam Church is uncertain and decisive conclusions have to be suspended until the whole complex has been studied in a more systematic way. However, in the scenes with Mamas one is tempted to see an echo of the original extensive pictorial cycle of his legend which apparently has not been preserved anywhere else.

The explanation why the "Gondarene" miniatures in the British Library manuscript Or. 687 are so difficult to interpret seems to be the lack of interest on the part of the painter in the story of a less familiar saint. He most probably copied the pictures from another manuscript without reading the text and was not careful enough in depicting the details.

As to the representation on the curtain of the Royal Ontario Museum, the conclusive identification of the figure riding a lion will have to await a more exhaustive study of its iconographical programme.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CarCollegeville* = *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, Collegeville*, by W. F. Macomber (& Getatchew Haile), I-X (Collegeville, MA, 1975-).
- Cignitti, "Mama" = B. Cignitti, "Mama di Cesarea", *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. VIII (Rome, 1966), cols. 592-612.
- Gabelić, "Predstave" = S. Gabelić, "Predstave s. Mamanta u zignom slikarstvu na Kipra", *Zograf* 15 (1984), 69-75.
- Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* = G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton, 1969).
- IES = Addis Abeba, Institute of Ethiopian Studies.
- Jerphanion, *Cappadoce* = G. de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin: les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1925-42).
- Marava-Chatzenikolaou, "Άγιος Μάμας" = A. Marava-Chatzenikolaou, "Ο Άγιος Μάμας" (Athens, 1953).
- Restle, *Kleinasien* = M. Restle, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, 3 vols. (Recklinghausen, 1967).



Fig. 1. Cappadocia, Elamli Kilise.



Fig. 2. Cyprus, K. Demetrios.



Fig. 2. Cyprus, Kourdali, Church of the Dormition.



Fig. 1. Cappadocia, Elamlı Kilise.



Fig. 2. Cyprus, Kourdali, Church of the Dormition.



Fig. 3. Meteora, Monastery of the Metamorphosis.

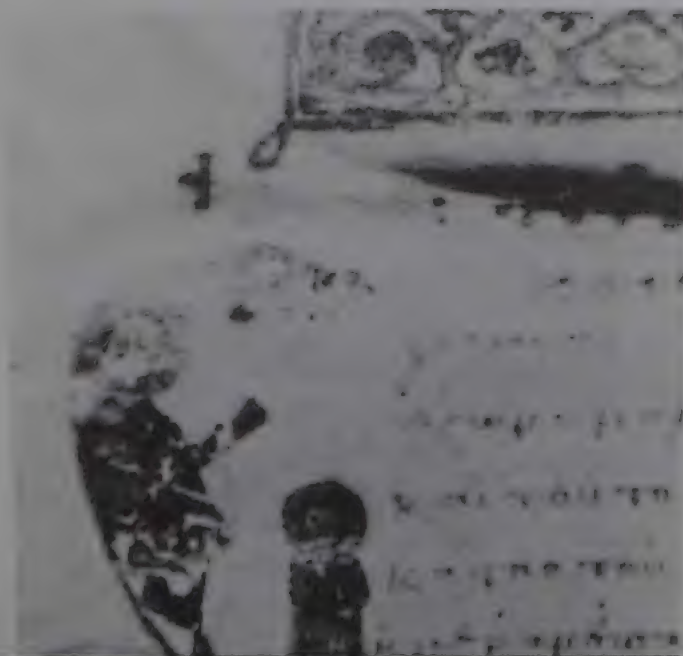


Fig. 3. Meteora, Monastery of the Metamorphosis.



Fig. 4. Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, cod. gr. 346.



Fig. 3. Meteora, Monastery of the Metamorphosis.



Fig. 4. Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, cod. gr. 346.



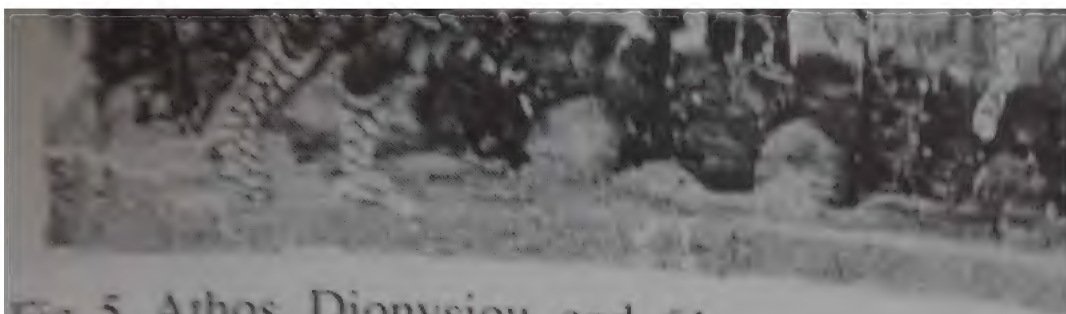


Fig. 5. Athos, Dionysiou, cod. 61.



Fig. 6a. Athos, Vatopedi, cod. 107, fol. 27^v.

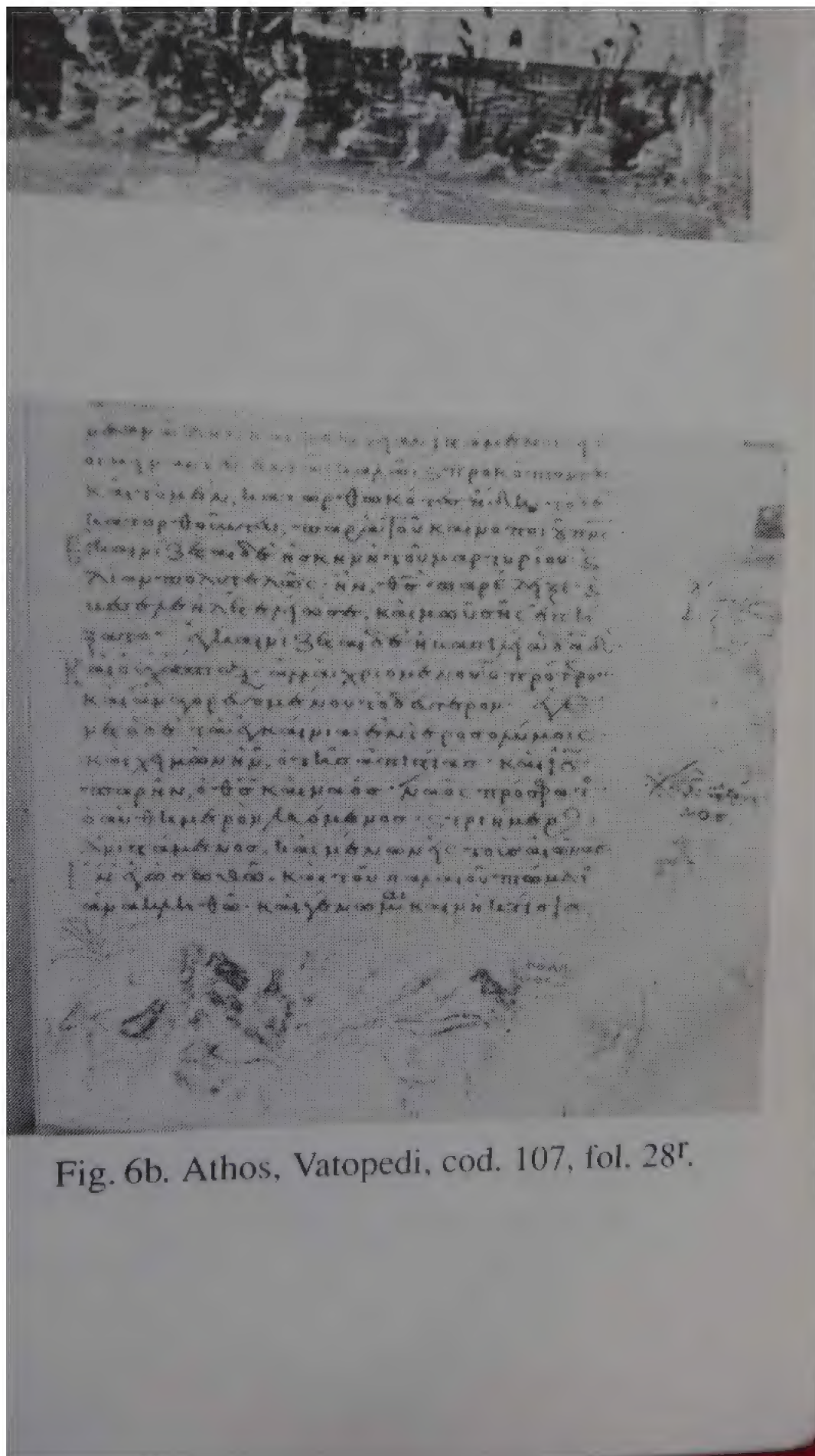


Fig. 6b. Athos, Vatopedi, cod. 107, fol. 28r.

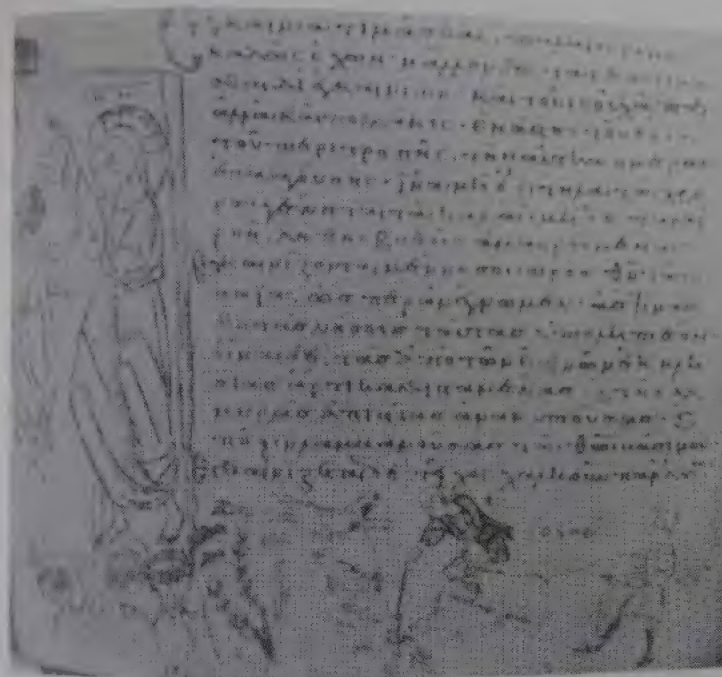


Fig. 6a. Athos, Vatopedi, cod. 107, fol. 27^v.

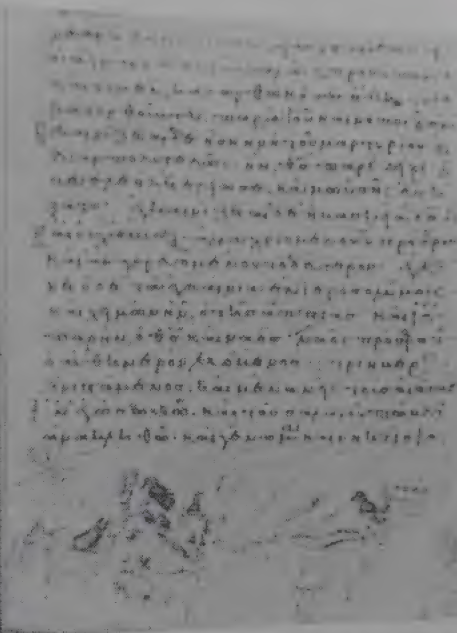


Fig. 6b. Athos, Vatopedi, cod. 107, fol. 28^r.



Fig. 5. Athos, Dionysiou, cod. 61.

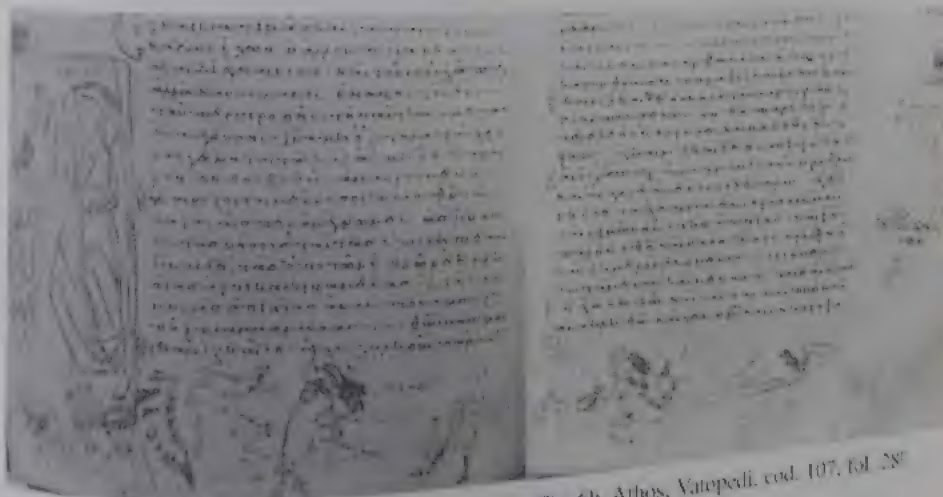


Fig. 6a. Athos, Vatopedi, cod. 107, fol. 27v.

Fig. 6b. Athos, Vatopedi, cod. 107, fol. 28r

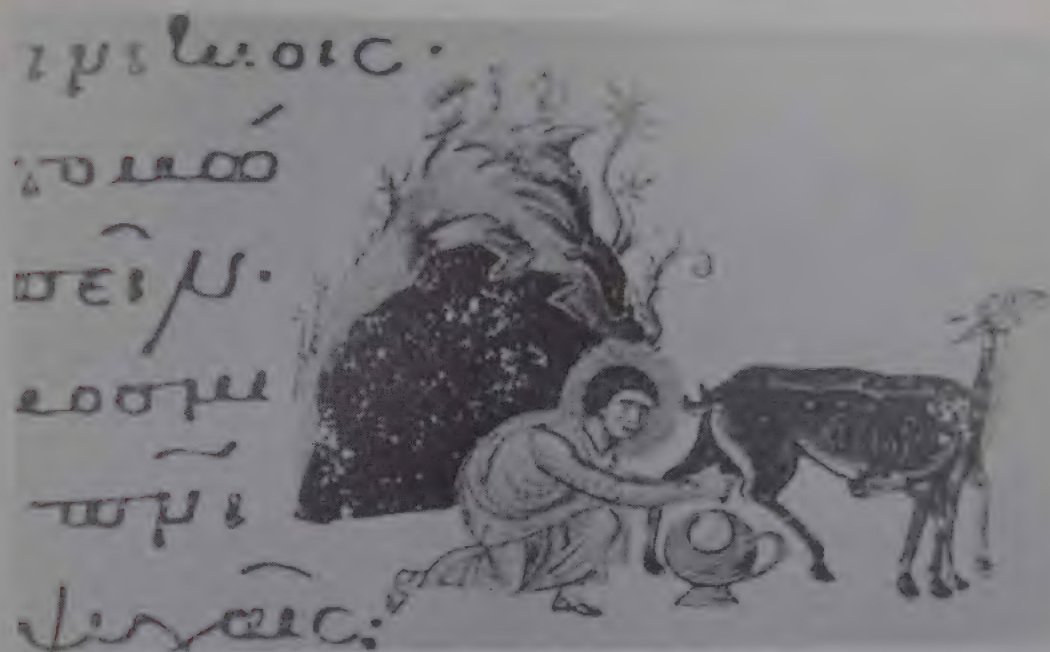


Fig. 7. Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, cod. gr. 339, fol. 53r.





Fig. 8. Paris, BN, gr. 550.



Fig. 7. Monastery of St. Catherine, 1005, fol. 105v.



Fig. 8. Monastery of St. Catherine, 1005, fol. 105r.



...Taphou 14.



Fig. 10. Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, cod. gr. 339, fol. 42v.



Fig. 9. Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, cod. Hag. Taphou 14.



Fig. 10. Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, cod. gr. 339, fol. 42v.

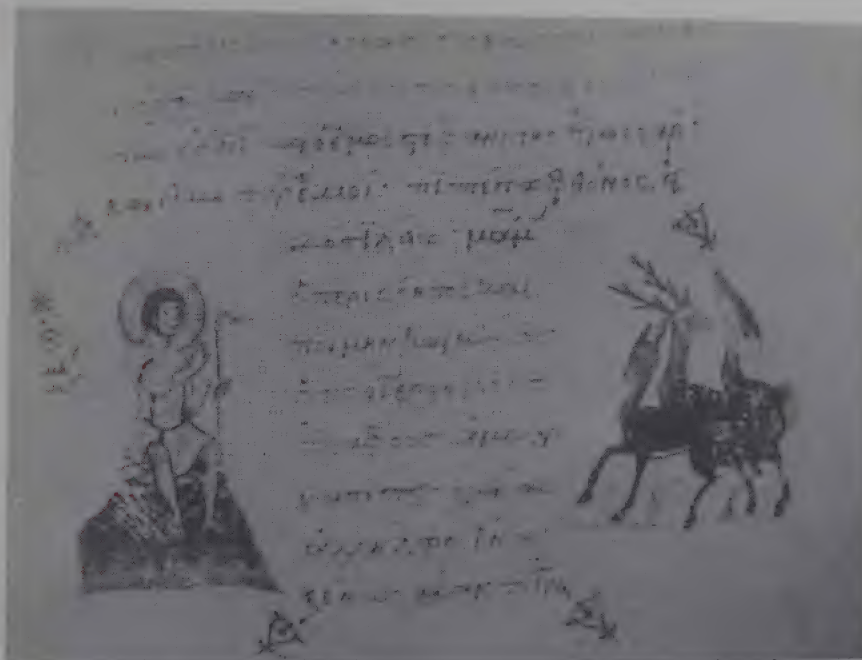


Fig. 11. Athos, Panteleimon, cod. 6.

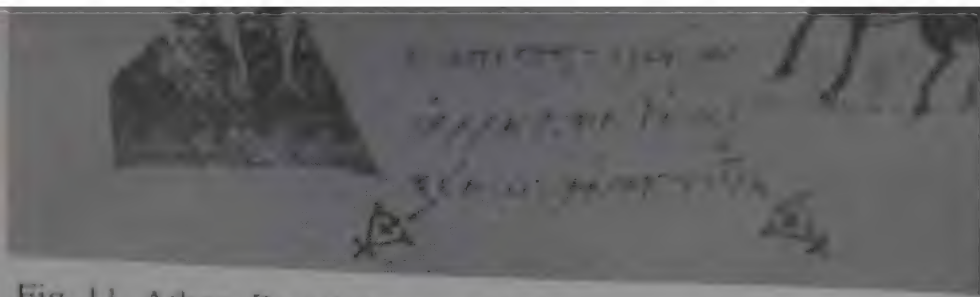


Fig. 11. Athos, Panteleimon, cod. 6.



Fig. 12. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, gr. Z 586, fol. 35r.

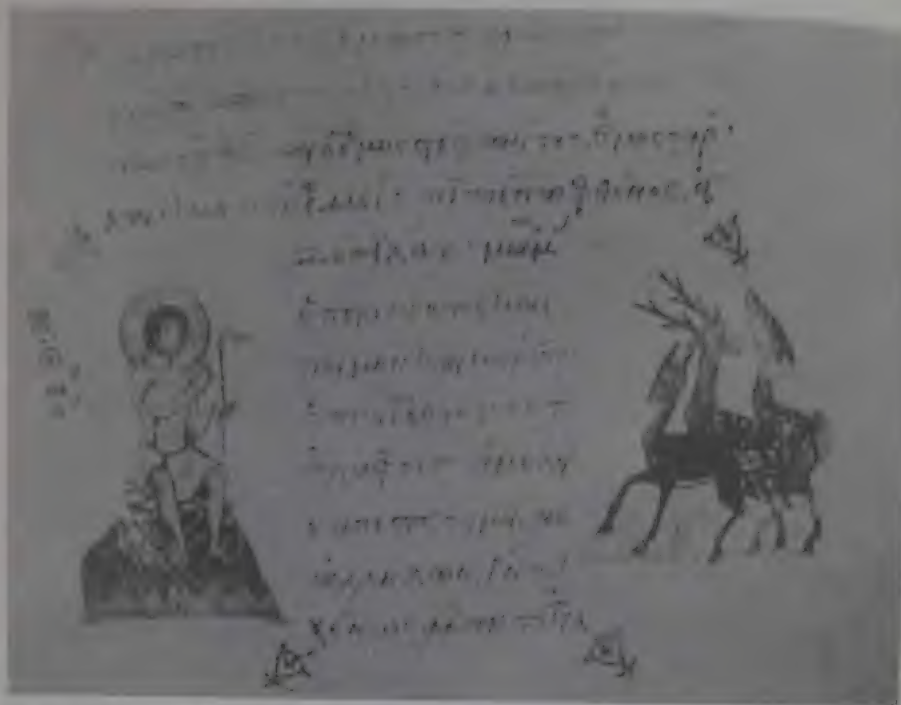


Fig. 11. Athos, Panteleimon, cod. 6.



Fig. 12. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, gr. Z 586, fol. 35r.







Fig. 13. Athen, Byzantine Museum.



Fig. 14. Gelati tondo, Tbilisi, Museum of Art.



Fig. 16. Cyprus, Pelendari, Panagia Katholiki.

Fig. 15. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, cod. A. 109.





Fig. 16. Cyprus, Pelendari, Panagia Katholiki.



Fig. 15. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, cod. A 1189.



Fig. 17. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Menologion of Basil II.

Fig. 17. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Menologion



Fig. 18. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana,
gr. Z 586, f. 35^r.



Fig. 19. Meteora, Monastery of Barlaam.



Fig. 17. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Menologion of Basil II.



Fig. 18. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, gr. Z 586, f. 35^r.



Fig. 19. Meteora, Monastery of Barlaam.



Fig. 20 a-b. Michele Gambiolo, New Heaven. University of Yale.



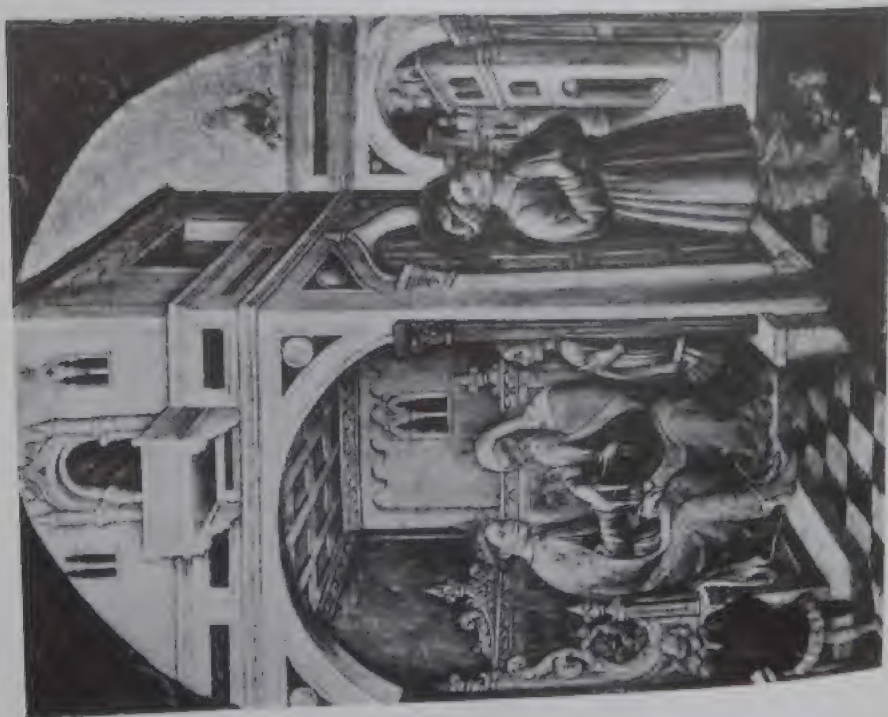
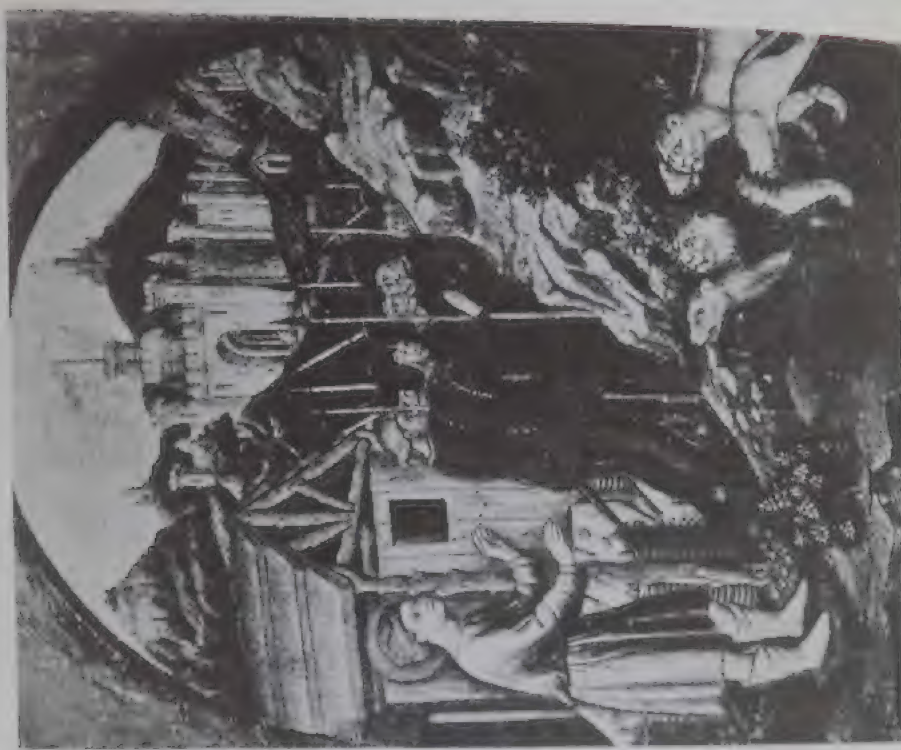


Fig. 20 a-b. Michele Gambiolo, New Heaven, University of Yale.



Fig. 20 b-c, Michele Gambianno, Venice, Museo Correr.



Illustration of a saint kneeling in prayer before a rustic hut, with a fortified castle on a hill in the background.



Fig. 20 b-c. Michele Gambiromo, Venice, Museo Correr.



Fig. 21 a-b. Gännätä Maryam Church near Lalibela.





Fig. 21 a-b. Giannata Maryam Church near Lalibela.



Fig. 21 c. Gännätä Maryam Church near Lalibela.



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Fig. 22. Gädlä Sama'atat, Ankobär, Astit Kidanä
Mahrät Church.



Fig. 22. Gadlā Siimā'zēat, Ankobar, Asot Kidāna Mshet Church.

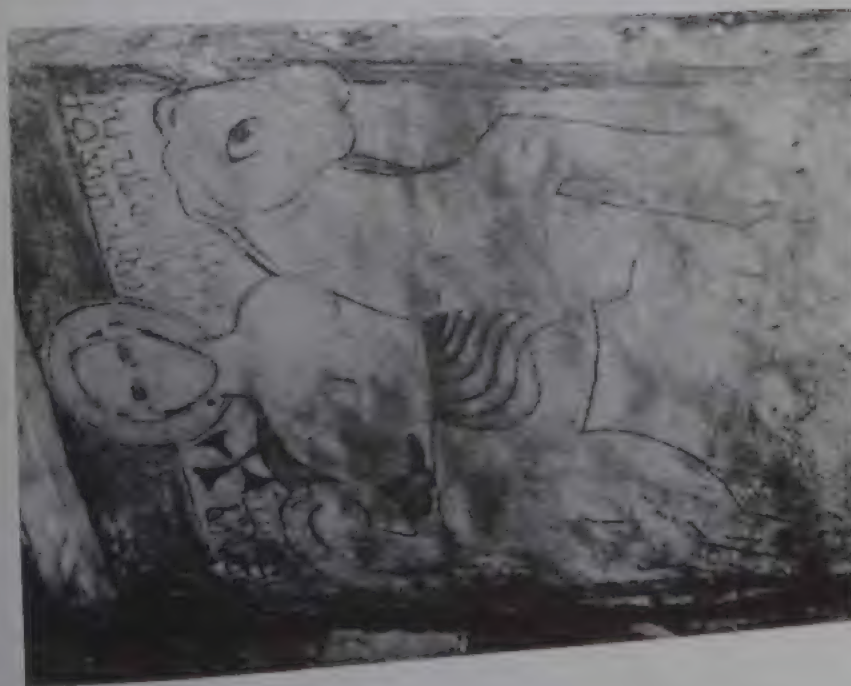


Fig. 21 c. Gannata Maryam Church near Lalibela.



Fig. 23. Addis Abeba, IES.

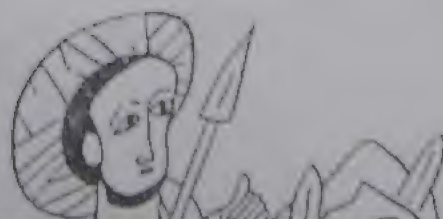






Fig. 24. Yadibbā Maryam Church.



Fig. 23. Addis Abeba, IES.



Fig. 24. Yadiḥbā Maryām
Church



Fig. 25 a-b. Gädlä Säma'atat, British Library, Or. 687 (Fig. 25a, fol. 8)
By permission of the British Library.

በጊዜው ሲሆን ለታ
 ጽፎ ወደ ዘመናዊነት ሲቀየር
 ስራው ከጥንታዊነት ሲቀየር
 በዚህ ጉዞ ሲሆን ለጥንታዊነት
 ስራው ሲቀየር ለጥንታዊነት
 ስራው ሲቀየር ለጥንታዊነት

በጊዜው ሲሆን ለታ
 ጽፎ ወደ ዘመናዊነት ሲቀየር
 ስራው ከጥንታዊነት ሲቀየር
 በዚህ ጉዞ ሲሆን ለጥንታዊነት
 ስራው ሲቀየር ለጥንታዊነት
 ስራው ሲቀየር ለጥንታዊነት

ለጥንታዊነት ሲቀየር
 ስራው ከጥንታዊነት ሲቀየር
 በዚህ ጉዞ ሲሆን ለጥንታዊነት
 ስራው ሲቀየር ለጥንታዊነት
 ስራው ሲቀየር ለጥንታዊነት
 ስራው ሲቀየር ለጥንታዊነት



8v; Fig. 25b, fol. 15r).

ርክቶኩ ወሳሥ ኩ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ሰቀ
 ጽኩ፡ ወገነዝም፡ ወተበርም፡ ወ
 ከተ፡ መካኒ፡ ልዑል፡ በዘምረ፡ ወ
 በጸሎት፡ እንዘ፡ ይሰብሐም፡ ለ
 እግዚአብሔር፡ እምሳክነ፡ ዘሎ
 ቱ፡ ክብር፡ ወዕባይ፡ ወሥልጣን፡

ወእጊዝ፡ ወመገግሥት፡ ለዓለሙ፡
 ዓለም፡ እሚን፡ ወእሚን፡ ለ ይኩ
 ንብረት፡ ጥቅ
 ለዘጸሐ፡ ወለዘእጽሐ፡ ወዘ
 እንበቦ፡ ወለዘተርጉሞ፡ ወለዘሰ
 ምዓ፡ ታሰቲሁ፡ ሳቡረ፡ ይምሐረ

ነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በጸሎት፡ ለ
 ቅዱስ፡ ማማ ከ፡ እሚንቀ፡ ወለ
 እጽሐ፡ ፊሁ፡ ወሐጂ፡ ጌጥ፡ ርጊክ፡
 ይጽሐ፡ ከጥ፡ ገበ፡ ዓምድ፡ ወር
 ት፡ ስማደ፡ ጥቅ፡ ምክል፡ ከሎሙ፡
 ጸድታን፡ ለዓለሙ፡ ዓለም፡ እሚንቀ





Fig. 25 a–b. *Gadla Sāma'ārat*, British Library, Or. 687 (Fig. 25a, fol. 8v; Fig. 25b, fol. 15r).
By permission of the British Library.

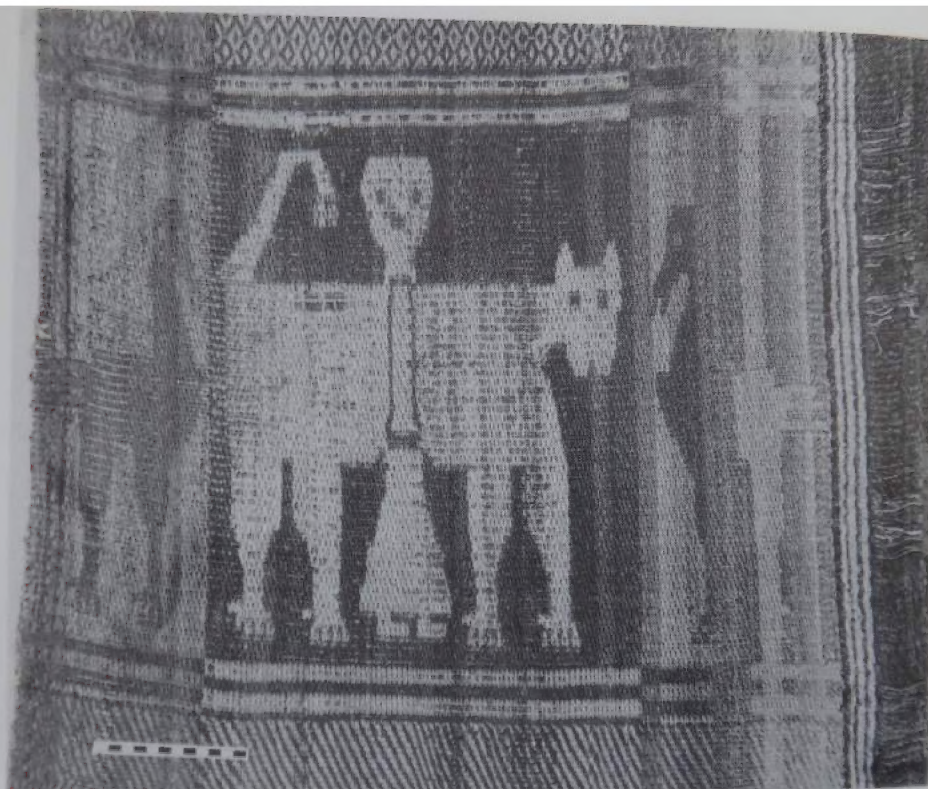


Fig. 26. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum.

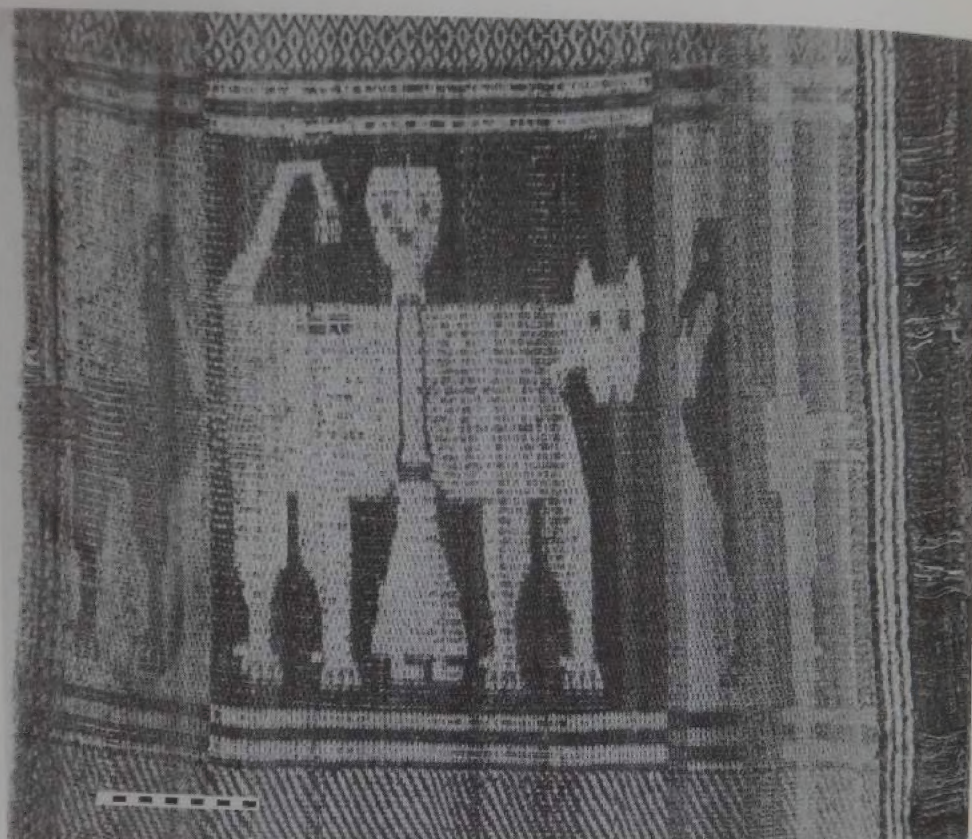


Fig. 26. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum.
By permission of the Royal Ontario Museum.



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